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October, 1919—July, 1920

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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MISSOURIANS IN SERVICE.

BY HARVEY C. CLARK.

Brigadier General Harvey C. Clark, who is a native born Missourian, has served in the Missouri National Guard for thirty years in all the grades from private to Brigadier General. His first military training was a member of the Cadet Corps of Wentworth Military Academy. He organized Company B, 2nd Missouri Infantry, in 1888 and became its Captain, serving with that regiment until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, when he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th Missouri Volunteers, being the youngest Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. His regiment went to Cuba and served as part of the American Army of occupation. After the Spanish American War he was appointed Brigadier General and reorganized the Missouri National Guard, which he has since commanded. He wrote the Military Code of the state, and when the Defense Act was under consideration in Congress in 1916, General Clark wrote the brief maintaining the right to federalize the National Guard which the Military Committee of the National House of Representatives adopted and printed in their report, recommending the act as finally passed. He commanded the Missouri troops on the Mexican Border in 1916, patrolling 145 miles of the Laredo District, which was regarded as the most troublesome on the Border. When the Missouri National Guard was called into federal service in the war with Germany, General Clark was commissioned a Brigadier General by the President and accompanied his command to Camp Doniphan. In December, 1917, with other National Guard brigadier generals, he was ordered before a board of regular army surgeons for physical *examination to determine his physical qualifications for overseas service. The board reported that as a result of an old case of pleursy some eight years ago his lungs were affected and that his blood pressure was too high. He was given the option of going to the army tubercular hospital at Deming, New Mexico, or resigning. He declined to do either and was accordingly on December 26, 1917, honorably discharged. The Governor at once asked him to take charge of the Adjutant General's office and the war activities of the state, and this he did, going direct to Jefferson City from Camp Doniphan. From that date he has given his whole time to organizing and directing all military activities connected with the winning of the war, in doing everything possible for the troops in the field and their relatives at home, and in preparing for the problems of reconstruction. General Clark is a lawyer, is married, and has one son.—Editor's note.*

Since the admission to the union, Missouri has never failed to do more than its part in every war in which the country has engaged. When the President called for volunteers in 1837 to fight the Seminoles, this state sent a regiment under Colonel Gentry, of Boone county. After a long steamboat trip down the Mississippi and across the Gulf to Florida, it rendered valiant service against the Indians in the Everglades. In the Mexican War its sturdy volunteers under Colonel Doniphan, of Ray county, made the long march across the plains, the longest in history, and contributed in the largest measure to the success of our arms. In the Civil War its entire fighting strength was under arms on one side or the other. In the Spanish-American War the Missouri National Guard volunteered to a man, filling Missouri's quota under the President's call for two hundred thousand volunteers. When in the Mexican crisis of 1916 the President called out the National Guard of the United States, the Missouri National Guard was the first to reach the Rio Grande and for six months it patrolled 145 miles of the Mexican border, its 5030 officers and men making a record for efficiency which brought a special acknowledgment from the Secretary of War.

But our climax of effort and achievement was reached in the War with Germany. We furnished to the land forces of the nation after the declaration of war, 128,000 civilian soldiers including all branches of the service, to the marine corps 3,400, and to the navy 6,910, a total of 138,310. Of this number about fifty per cent were sent abroad, the remainder serving in the various training camps on this side. The record made by Missourians on the battle fields of Europe has never been surpassed in the annals of warfare. To them we must pay the supreme tribute of a grateful people. No words can measure their heroic gallantry, the greatness of their sacrifice. We can never sufficiently show our appreciation; the ledger of our gratitude can never be balanced. Nor must we minimize the service of those who, due to the sudden termination of the war, were held on this side. They made untold sacrifices; they were taken from their homes and means of livelihood; their careers were rendered uncertain; their family ties severed. The world will never know the suffering that the complexities of our social and business life entailed in many cases when one of these boys responded to the call. Nor must we forget that the life of a soldier in the field, even it be a training camp, is one of hardship and danger. In this war more American soldiers died in camp of pneumonia and influenza than fell in battle in France.

As a people, we are prone to look for a hero, and unfortunately there is a tendency to fix our eyes upon men in high places because we see their names most frequently mentioned. There is a disposition too to unduly magnify the patriotism and service of men in high political, financial, or social position who do very ordinary things, forgetting that the very prominence of some of these men would force them to seek public commendation; and sometimes we find some of them posing in comfortable berths where they can bask in the public favor far from the scene of hardship and danger. The service of the men in the field is quite different from that of one who serves in a comfortable office building, surrounded by all of the comforts of civil life. We must not of course overlook the efforts and sacrifice of the great mass of our civilian population, particularly those in the humbler walks of life, the men and women who could not go but who unselfishly gave their time, their ability, and their substance to every activity having to do with the winning of the war. In one of our great cities two estates were inventoried recently in the Probate Court on the same day. One was that of a man who left property valued at more than a million dollars, consisting of lands, stocks and bonds; but not one liberty bond was found among the assets listed, although during the progress of the war the papers had published with flattering comment his purchase of two hundred thousand dollars worth of such bonds at one time. The other estate was that of a working man. He left a modest home, a few dollars in the bank, and five thousand dollars, the savings of a lifetime, in liberty bonds, and among his papers were receipts for contributions to the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A.

In the Civil War, where the theater of operations was large, the opportunity for initiative and strategy was unlimited for the development of great military leaders, and, generally speaking, these great soldiers were popular with their men, and this rightfully meant popularity with the public. History does not record the name of a really able soldier who was not popular with his men. In the European War the fact that the ground had been fought over for four years, that every inch of it was mapped by the opposing forces, that the zone of our operations was a limited one and that Marshal Foch was in supreme command and planned every move, limited the opportunity for the development of great soldiers and magnified the responsibility and achievements of the enlisted men and officers of comparatively low rank, who really deserved the credit for what America accomplished in the winning of the war. The real hero of this war is not found among those whose names were heralded far and wide in the press; he is the common soldier of modest rank who came from the farm, the office, the shop, the factory, the store, the mine, from all the walks of life and who served as an American soldier called from civil life to defend our liberties and our institution. He numbered approximately four million; he furnished the casualty lists; he served and suffered; he won the war.

Under the proclamation of the President the entire Missouri National Guard, consisting of 5,030 officers and men under the command of the writer, was on duty on the Mexican Border for some six months during the year 1916, patrolling 145 miles of the boundary between Mexico and the United States. The last Missouri organization had just been released from federal service when war was declared against Germany. The Governor applied to the Militia Bureau for authority to recruit all organizations of the National Guard to war strength and to organize all the new units which the state would be entitled to raise under the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, commonly called the Defense Act, and such authority was granted. The writer as Commanding General of the National Guard was accordingly assigned the task of organizing, training, and equipping in three months a force which under the Defense Act the state was given five years to raise. The recruitment of the old and the organization of the new units progressed with the greatest rapidity and on the date of the induction of the Missouri National Guard into federal service on August 5, 1917, this state had organized every unit authorized by the Militia Bureau. When released from federal service on its return from the Mexican Border in the early part of 1916, the Guard consisted of four regiments of infantry, one battalion of field artillery, a signal corps company, a troop of cavalry, a field hospital, and an ambulance company aggregating 4,447 officers and men. Between the date of the declaration of war on April 6, 1917, and that of induction into federal service on August 5, 1917, this force was increased to six regiments of infantry, two regiments of field artillery, a signal corps battalion, a battalion of engineers, two field hospitals, two ambulance companies, a motor supply train, and a troop of cavalry with an aggregate strength of 14,756 officers and men.

The entire National Guard was mobilized on the state rifle range near Nevada on August 5, 1917, under my command, and remained there under the training of its own officers for some two months. It consisted of the following units:

1st Missouri Infantry (St. Louis).
2nd Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Carthage, Butler, West Plains, Lamar, Sarcoxie, Clinton, Jefferson City, Aurora, Webb City, Joplin, Nevada, Peirce City, Lebanon and Springfield).
3rd Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Kansas City, Liberty and Boonville).
4th Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Tarkio, Mound City, Weston, St. Joseph, Trenton, Chillicothe, Carrollton, Hannibal, Caruthersville, Bethany, Kirksville, Columbia, Sedalia and Louisiana).
5th Missouri Infantry (St. Louis).
6th Missouri Infantry (Comprising companies from Cape Girardeau, Sikeston, Dexter, Poplar Bluff, Kennett, Campbell, Doniphan, Cabool, Seymour, Caruthersville, Sedalia, Richmond, Lexington, St. Joseph, Willow Springs and Carterville).
1st Missouri Field Artillery. (St. Louis and Kansas City).
2nd Missouri Field Artillery. (Kansas City and Independence).
1st Battalion Missouri Signal Corps (Kansas City).
1st Battalion Missouri Engineers. (Kansas City).
1st Missouri Motor Supply Train. (St. Louis).
Missouri Field Hospital No. 1. (St. Joseph)
Missouri Field Hospital No. 2. (Kansas City).
Missouri Ambulance Company No. 1. (Kansas City).
Missouri Ambulance Company No. 2. (Chamois).
Troop B, Missouri Cavalry. (St. Louis).

On September 28th the troops entrained for Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma, and were there consolidated with the Kansas National Guard, the combined National Guard of Missouri and Kansas constituting the 35th Division, this state furnishing about two-thirds and Kansas one-third of its strength. Upon arrival at Camp Doniphan the 1st Missouri Infantry and the 5th Missouri Infantry, from St. Louis, were consolidated under the name of the 138th Infantry. The 4th Missouri Infantry, from various towns in North Missouri, was consolidated with the 3rd Kansas and designated the 139th Infantry. The 3d Missouri Infantry, largely of Kansas City, and the 6th Missouri Infantry, from all sections of the state, were consolidated as the 140th Infantry. The 2nd Missouri Infantry, from Southwest Missouri, was disbanded and formed into three Machine Gun Battalions, designated the 128th, 129th and 130th Machine Gun Battalions, and its headquarters and supply company constituted a Trench Mortar Battery. The designation of the 1st Missouri Field Artillery, (St. Louis), was changed to the 128th Field Artillery, and that of the 2d Missouri Field Artillery (Kansas City), consolidated with Troop B, was changed to the 129th Field Artillery. The two Missouri Field Hospitals and two Ambulance Companies were designated the 110th Sanitary Train. The Missouri Engineers Battalion was consolidated with the Kansas Battalion and designated the 110th Engineers. The Missouri Supply Train became the 110th Motor Supply Train.

The training of the National Guard composing the 35th Division at Camp Doniphan was under its own National Guard officers, and the wonderful record it made in France is due solely to the efforts of the citizen soldiers of Missouri and Kansas who composed it.

The division remained at Camp Doniphan until April 12, 1918, when it moved to Camp Mills, New York, and embarked for Europe on April 25, 1918, arriving at Liverpool on May 7th. From England the troops were moved to France, landing there May 17, 1918. After a brief period of training in France, the Division was moved to the front line trenches in the Vosges sector. After a long stay in the trenches it was attached to the contingent of the American Army which participated in the St. Mihiel advance, forming a part of the reserve. Following the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient it was moved to the Argonne and for six days participated in the fiercest fighting of this, the greatest and decisive battle of the war. The 35th Division was the razor edge of the advancing American wedge; it bore the brunt, and four picked divisions of the Prussian Guard, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, were thrown in its way only to be routed. It went over the top at 5:30 a. m., on September 26, 1918, and on October 1st, after six days of the most desperate fighting of the war, it had captured every objective from Vanquois Hill to Exermont, advancing a distance of some eleven miles over a terrene mined and fortified with barbed wire and concrete as strongly as Prussian ingenuity knew how to defend it. The casualties of the Division in this engagement were 7,854, of which number 675 Missourians were killed and 4,561 wounded. Thirty-five Missouri infantry officers of the Division were killed and 85 wounded, a percentage of forty, which was the largest relative loss among officers in any division in the American Army, a mute testimonial to the bravery and matchless gallantry of the National Guardsmen who did not fear to lead their men where death was taking its heaviest toll. 640 Missouri enlisted men were killed and 4,476 wounded, or 35 per cent of the Missourians in the Division, conclusive evidence of the nature of the task assigned them and their heroic achievement. Thus the citizen soldiery of Missouri and Kansas met and defeated the professional troops of the nation, which stands as the foremost exponent of professional militarism. The heroic gallantry and heroism of the Missouri and Kansas National Guardsmen who fought at the Argonne were commended alike by friend and foe in the strongest terms language can employ. The division returned to the United States in the early part of May, 1919, and was finally discharged from federal service at Camp Funston during that month.

A letter from one of the Missouri officers to the writer of this article, mailed after the Argonne fight, contains this description of the conduct of the Missourians:

"When the history of our division is written, every Missourian will be proud of the fact that he lives in a state which can furnish such soldiers to the world. No words can tell you of the heroic conduct of our men and of their uncomplaining cheerful suffering and magnificent gallantry as they faced, again and again, the awful fire of the Hun machine guns and again and again charged through the German lines and put to rout the picked troops of the enemy. We have read of the grim courage and incomparable spirit of Napoleon's Old Guard, but nothing could have surpassed the matchless bravery and cool efficiency of the Missouri and Kansas boys as they poured out their blood upon this awful field. I thought I knew what esprit de corps was but I never quite realized it until I witnessed the devoted comradeship of these National Guardsmen grimly determined that the record made by the Missouri National Guard in its acid test should never be equalled. I know how you will feel when you read the casualty lists because you will recognize the names of scores with whom you have served, and when you receive this letter you will know that I saw many of them go down, faithful to the last and dying with a heroism which has never been surpassed on any battle field in the world."

Much has appeared in the press in reference to the casualties of this division and the handicap under which it fought, and it may not be amiss to mention the facts here. The confidential report of the Inspector General, Brigadier General Hugh A. Drumm, U. S. Army, severely criticised Major General Peter E. Traub, U. S. Army, who commanded the division, for absenting himself from his headquarters at the same time his chief of staff was absent, thus losing contact and control over the units of the division; Colonel George A. Wieczorek, a regular army officer, Chief Signal Officer, for failure to maintain the lines of communication; and Brigadier General L. G. Berry, of the U. S. Army, who commanded the artillery brigade, for failure to co-operate with and make use of the air service. The report further criticised the change in brigade and regimental commanders on the eve of the battle, thus placing in positions of the gravest responsibility officers who were not familiar with the troops and who had no opportunity to acquaint themselves with the terrain, plans, etc. A few days prior to the Argonne battle, Brigadier General Charles A. Martin, of the Kansas National Guard, who commanded the 70th Brigade, was, without the assignment of any cause therefor, relieved of his command and his place given Colonel Kirby Walker, a cavalryman in the regular army, who was without experience in handling a large infantry command

and who had never been under fire. General Martin had served as a Major in the 20th Kansas (Funston's regiment), for two years in the Philippines and made a very fine record in the combat service of that famous regiment. He had served, since the Spanish-American War, for more than twenty years as an officer in the Kansas National Guard and was at the time of his appointment by the President as Brigadier General, the Adjutant General of Kansas. He is a man of exceptional ability, faultless habits, fine character, and was universally regarded as one of the very finest officers in the service. He had organized and trained the brigade which he commanded at Camp Doniphan, had accompanied it to France and it was generally recognized as one of the finest combat units in the American Army. He was the only officer in the Division who had ever commanded a force of consequence in actual warfare. As subsequent events disclosed, this change from an able and experienced officer who knew and was loved by his men and was familiar with the terrain and plan of campaign to one without such experience, was most unfortunate. The commanding officers of two of the regiments were changed on the eve of the battle, both being replaced by cavalry officers of the regular army. One of them took command the evening before the battle and did not have opportunity to even become acquainted with the officers of the regiment. The other wandered about over the field looking for the regiment he had been assigned to command, but not knowing its officers or men by sight or just where it was, in the confusion of the engagement did not find it for two or three days. All of this of course made very difficult the efforts of our officers and men, but notwithstanding the lack of leadership higher up, they took every objective and were holding Exermont, the extreme front of the American line, when they were relieved. General Drumm's report pays them in terse military language this tribute pregnant with meaning:

"The fighting spirit and bravery of officers and men was excellent."

One National Guard unit, the First Missouri Signal Corps Battalion stationed at Kansas City, commanded by Major Ruby D. Garrett, was attached to the Rainbow Division consisting of National Guard units selected from the National Guard of twenty-seven states. The record made by this Division, (the 42nd), was one of the most remarkable of any American troops in France, and the Missouri contingent was considered one of its very best. For gallantry in action Major Garrett was cited and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel.

Shortly after the mobilization of the National Guard and the regular army the government began the organization of another great force under the provisions of the Selective Service Act. The first contingent of drafted men from Missouri was sent to Camp Funston in September, 1917, and together with the men from Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico were organized into the 89th Division trained by Major General Leonard Wood. Its personnel drawn from the flower of the citizenship of the great Middle West was the very finest. Its officers were in large part without previous military training other than that obtained in the excellent course given in the Officers Training Camps which preceded the mobilization of the selective service men, but so well did they learn the art of war that the Division was sent across in June, 1918, its last units arriving in France, July 10, 1918, and it became one of the very finest fighting units in the American Expeditionary Forces. It was at St. Mihiel and in the battle of the Argonne, in both of which engagements it conducted itself with magnificent gallantry, reflecting the very greatest credit upon the citizen soldiery of the great Middle West. In the St. Mihiel offensive it was the right division of the 4th American Corps and advanced a distance of twenty-one kilometers capturing the towns of Beney, Essey, Boullionville, Pannes and Xammes. On October 7th the division was relieved in the Pannes-Flirey-Limey sector by the 37th Division and was moved by bus to the Recicourt area and became part of the 1st Army Reserve. On October 12th it moved forward in the rear of the 32nd Division as part of the 5th American Corps in the Argonne offensive and on October 20th went into the line just North of the Kriemhilde defense positions. It attacked on November 1st and continued in the assault until the armistice was signed, when it had crossed the Meuse north of Stenay. On November 24th it began its march into Germany as part of the army of occupation and was assigned the area bounded by Kreise of Prum, Bitburg, Trier and Saarburg with division headquarters at Kyllburg. During its service it captured 5,061 prisoners, 127 pieces of artillery, 455 machine guns and advanced thirty-six kilometers against the enemy. Its members were awarded 8 Congressional Medals of Honor, 119 Distinguished Service Crosses and 55 Croix de Guerre. Its casualties were 8,813, of which 1,419 were fatalities. While men from this state were in every unit in this Division, the 354th Infantry, the 356th Infantry, the 432nd Field Artillery, the 314th Signal Corps Battalion and the 314th Engineers contained a preponderance of Missourians, and these were practically Missouri units. The wonderful record made by this Division composed of officers and men of the Micdle West, called suddenly from civil life, explodes the old theory of the advocates of professional militarism that the making of a soldier requires years of training and demonstrates beyond all question the superior worth of the civilian soldier. This division was the superior from every standpoint of the professional soldiery of Germany on the day it landed in Europe and the Prussian mercenaries went down before it like grain before the reaper. The Division returned to this country early in June, 1919, and was discharged from the federal service during the same month.

Another Missouri unit which acquitted itself with great credit was the 12th Engineers, organized largely from railroad men in the city of St. Louis.

Missouri was represented in practically every company, battery, corps or contingent in the American Army, and this state contributed its full quota to the Officers Reserve Corps, Navy, Regular Army, Aviation Service, Marine Corps, the

Engineers, Railroad Troops and Sanitary Units. Missourians fought with the marines at Chateau Thierry; their blood was poured out on every field in France and Belgium where American troops were engaged. The conduct and bearing of our officers and men in all of these organizations were such as to reflect the greatest credit upon the state. Hundreds of them have been decorated for acts of conspicuous daring and gallantry. Special mention has been made of the units made up in large part of Missourians because the data as to these is at hand, and that relating to other organizations of the army, the navy and the marine corps is not available at this time. For obvious reasons this must be obtained from official sources at Washington. Later, when the official data has been compiled and furnished the state it will be possible to publish in detail the service and accomplishment of all Missourians in all the branches of the service.

The record of all these young men is the priceless heritage of our state. They were our very best. So long as time lasts we mill mourn for those who made the supreme sacrifice, and the people of Missouri should never cease in their efforts to show appreciation of the sacrifices made by those who served in the field, at home or abroad. Let us not be content with expressions of gratitude; let us see to it that the material loss of every Missourian who answered his country's call is reduced to the minimum. He is entitled to every consideration as long as he lives; let us not withhold it. He must face problems which he would not otherwise have been called upon to meet; let us make them easy for him.

In an effort to show the appreciation of the state in a sentimental and substantial way, the following military legislation was enacted by the last General Assembly as an expression of our gratitude and an indication of the purpose to continue to do everything possible which conditions as they develop may suggest.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Employment Commission: An act constituting the Adjutant General and the State Labor Commissioner a commission to assist discharged Missouri soldiers, sailors and marines in obtaining employment. Provision is made for publishing the name of any employer who refuses to reinstate in his former position any discharged Missouri soldier, sailor or marine. The general office of the commission is in the Adjutant General's office at Jefferson City. Branch offices are maintained at St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph and elsewhere. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the act.

County Memorials: An act authorizing the County Court in each county and the municipal body in each city in the state to erect a suitable memorial building or monument or to place a suitable bronze tablet in some public building at the county seat dedicated to the memory of the soldiers, sailors and marines furnished by the county or city in the war with Germany. One hundred and thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose. Under the provisions of the act the county clerk is required to compile and preserve in his office a complete record of each soldier, sailor or marine who served from such county or city in the war with Germany.

Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall: An act dedicating both floors of the East corridor of the new capitol building to the purpose of a soldiers and sailors memorial hall and directing the Adjutant General to display therein in appropriate cases the battle flags carried by all Missouri units in the Seminole War, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, on the Mexican Border and in the war with Germany, together with all war trophies and relics connected with the service of Missourians in the various wars in which troops from this state have served. Fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

Memorial in France: The act provides for the appointment of a commission of seven Missouri soldiers who served with combat troops in France to locate and erect a memorial in France to the memory of Missourians who there fell. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

History and Biographical Record of Missouri soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the war with Germany: The act authorizes the Adjutant General to compile and publish a record of the participation of Missouri units or units composed in large part of Missourians in the war with Germany, together with a biography of every Missouri soldier, sailor and marine who served. Provision is made for the free distribution of copies of this history and record to all libraries, public schools, etc., in the state. It is estimated that this work will contain about six volumes. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

Medals for Missouri soldiers, sailors and marines: The act authorizes the Adjutant General to procure and present to each Missouri soldier, sailor and marine who served in the war with Germany an appropriate bronze medal as a slight token of the gratitude of the state to its sons who served. The act likewise authorizes the presentation of a medal to each Missouri Volunteer who served in the war with Spain and to each member of the Missouri National Guard who served on the Mexican Border in 1916. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose.

Officers and Employees of Workmen's Compensation Commission: The act provides that all officers and employees of the Missouri Workmen's Compensation Commission shall be honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines. Provision is made for four commissioners at a salary of $4,000.00, a secretary at $3,500.00, a surgeon, clerks, stenographers, etc.

Reorganization of the National Guard: The act revises the military code of the state and provides for the reorganization of the National Guard with the same status it had when inducted into the federal service on August 5, 1917. Two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for the support and maintenance of the National Guard during the biennial period.

MAJOR BENJAMIN HOLLIDAY

1786-1859.

FOUNDER OF MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER AND BOONE'S LICK ADVERTISER.

BY ANNA LEE BROSIUS KORN.

Benjamin Holliday was born in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, June 8, 1786. He was of English Cavalier and Scotch descent. He was the son of Benjamin Holliday, who was a son of Captain Joseph Holliday of the American Continental Line, American Revolution, and Elizabeth Lewis. His mother was Sarah Hampton of the distinguished Hampton family of Virginia, a daughter of George Hampton and Mary Colson, heiress.

His great-grandfather was Captain John Holliday, Sr., gentleman, founder of the Holliday family of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina.[1] His home known as Belfonte, Spottsylvania county, contained several thousand acres of land so that he bequeathed several hundred acres of land to each of his nine children, namely: William, John, Daniel,

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[1] The Hollidays are descended from Sir Walter Holliday, who was knighted by King Edward of England, to whom arms were granted in 1470, and was styled the "Master of Revels" to King Edward IV. He was youngest son of last Laird of Covehead, Scotland, Chieftain of Annendale. He was succeeded by his son Henry. Henry had four sons, viz.:

1. William of Stroud.
2. Henry of Minchen—Hampton, Gloucester, England.
3. Edward of Rodborough.
4. John of From Hall.
   Thomas Holliday
   and
   John Holliday.

It is from him the Hollidays in states named above descend. See Geo. McKenzie's *Colonial Families in U. S.*, Heitman's *Officers of the Revolution*, and *Hadens Genealogy*.

Joseph, Benjamin, Elizabeth, Winnifred, Sarah, and Susanah. He was Captain of Virginia Rangers in 1702.[2]

When a small boy Benjamin Holliday removed with his parents to Clark county, Kentucky, where he grew to manhood. He was educated in the best schools and at the age of eighteen taught school for several years. He was complimented and rewarded for penmanship at writing school and did public acts of service for people in his vicinity.[3]

His father, Benjamin Holliday, called "Gamester Ben" because of his love for race horses and his fame for conducting races in Kentucky in an early day, traded the present site of Lexington, Kentucky, for a race horse called Packolet. At the same time he purchased a fine stallion which he installed in the Holliday stables. As this animal was considered unsafe to be at large he gave explicit instructions to young Benjamin on leaving the house that the stallion should not be loosed from the barn. Upon his return, to his astonishment, the stallion was running to and fro in the lot. Disregard for his instructions so infuriated the parent that he struck young Benjamin twice across the back with his riding whip as he rebuked him for disobedience. This act young Benjamin resented and over it left home to which he never returned in his father's life time.[4]

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[2] Captain Joseph's issue: (1) Lt. John; (2) 2nd Lieutenant Lewis; (3) Major James; (4) Jerminia; (5) William, father of Ben Holliday of national fame; (6) Winnifred; (7) Stephen, who married Ann Hickman; (8) Benjamin, who married Sarah Hampton; (9) Major Joseph, who married Cousin Agnes Holliday, daughter of Uncle Benjamin. Their son John married Nancy McCune and represented Lafayette county, Missouri, in the General Assembly in 1858. Was Coal Oil Inspector, Member of School Board and Real Estate firm of Holliday and Buckley in Saint Louis. Had a son, Samuel, attorney in city. (10) Elizabeth; and (11) Thomas Holliday.

Jerminia Holliday married Isaac Graves, connected with the Graves who founded Chillicothe and pioneer of Columbia. Captain John's will recorded same county in 1742.

[3] Will of Mrs. George Hampton recorded in Frederick county, Virginia. See *Hampton Genealogy* by Dr. J. L. Miller, Thomas, West Virginia.

[4] Benjamin Holliday and Sarah Hampton were parents of large family. Major Benjamin and Stephen were only ones so far known who came to Missouri. Stephen was named after Uncle Stephen, son of Captain Joseph who married Ann Hickman.

Benjamin Holliday was of an adventurous nature and a trader. Enlisting the aid of young Cooper he built and operated a chain of flat boats between Louisville and New Orleans, building up a lucrative business which he followed for several years, while the Coopers, equally as adventurous, departed for Missouri to establish homes. In 1810, at the time a company of friends and relatives were forming to join the Cooper's in the new Missouri territory, Benjamin Holliday sold his boat line interests and with his sister Mary Colson and husband Augustus Cave Davis and children, he came to the Boone's Lick Country and with fifty families established a settlement. After assisting in the erection of quarters for the abode of his sister's family, the desire for navigable trade again possessed him. Accordingly in 1811 he went to Saint Louis, loaded his boat with supplies and proceeded to New Orleans.[5]

He got as far as New Madrid, Missouri, when he found himself in the convulsions of a great earthquake accompanied with what seemed to be "the discharge of heavy artillery, while every few minutes the surface of the river rose and fell." So great were the conflicting currents, he expected each mom- the boat would be dashed to pieces; years seemed to pass in his moments of peril, and when at last the subterranean disturbances quieted he docked for inspection and repairs, then proceeded to New Orleans where he sold his supplies.[6] On his return to Boone's Lick he found the colonists terror-stricken because of the prevalence of hostile Indians. Hasty preparations were begun for the erection of forts in which to take refuge. When completed, Holliday took refuge with his sister's family in Cooper's fort, where many frightful experiences and hardships were shared with other occupants of the fort while combating a common foe.[7] About this time companies of Missouri Militia were being organized to subdue the Indians. Benjamin Holliday enlisted in Captain James Calloway's Company and later became a Major in the Militia and experienced many bloody contests from 1812 to and including 1814. It seemed too bad this war should repress progress and break up a settlement of colonists who were socially united as one big family, by the indentity of their language, interest, laws and customs, and the ties of a common kindred; and still more by a common participation in the vicissitudes of peril and suffering through which they passed, yet it did—many going to other sections. Not so with Benjamin Holliday. It could be said of him as it was of Cavalier Bayard. He was "without fear and without reproach."

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[5] The Cooper's, Davis, Clarks, Calloways, Colson's, Cave and Boone families were old friends in Kentucky and many intermarried.

[6] These early experiences are traditional tales treasured by the descendants.

[7] Missouri records of 1812 are sparse and incomplete.

Having undaunted faith in the future of the new territory, the productiveness of the soil, the scenic grandeur of her majestic hills, beautiful valleys, fresh crystal streams, and flowing fountains he felt nature supplied all essentials for a home and prosperity, for those willing to labor and to wait.

He and his brother-in-law, Augustus Cave Davis, and family remained, and on the establishment of the seat of government at Cole's fort in 1816, purchased land of the Government known as New Madrid or Earthquake certificates of land.[8]

On July 19, 1818, occurred one of the early marriages of Howard county at Old Franklin at which Benjamin Holliday officiated as best man at the marriage of his niece, Miss Elizabeth Davis, to Wesley Hines.[9]

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[8] Augustus Cave Davis and wife had ten children: Elizabeth; Martin H.; Simpson Owen, founder of Sulphur Springs, Texas; Sylvester Heiskell; Pleasant I; Albert Gallatin, captain in Mormon war and captain of Missouri Militia under General John B. Clark, Howard county, 1844, founded Hamilton, Missouri, 1855; Thomas Colson; Augustus Cave; Tolbert Jefferson, and Wade Hampton Davis, all dead. See *Caldwell County History*, 1886.

[9] Marriage copied from "Early Marriages of Howard County," recorder's office at Fayette. Judge John Hines, of Polo; Matilda, wife of Major Higgins of Hamilton, Caldwell county; Elizabeth Beckett, of Polo; and Matison Hines, pioneer of Forest Grove, Oregon, are children of this union.

It was in this year that the county seat was established in Franklin. Benjamin Holliday purchased lot 49 of Abraham Barnes and erected a frame building on half of it, for the purpose of starting a newspaper. Accordingly he paid a visit to Kentucky to induce his young brother, Stephen Holliday, who had mastered the art of printing in Kentucky and had had newspaper experience, to come to Franklin and assist in the publication of the same. Giving his consent they proceeded to Louisville, where they purchased a printing outfit including a Ramage Press and brought it to Franklin and installed it in the new building.

Benjamin Holliday named the paper *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone's Lick Advertiser*, after the settlement to which he came and the sheet which was to give intelligence concerning it.[10]

By this means he hoped to stimulate emigration. About this time Nathaniel Patten, a late arrival in the village, also a printer by trade, heard of the intended publication of the paper so he sought an interview with Benjamin Holliday and being without employment and of limited means begged to be allowed to buy a third interest in same on installments.

Holliday desiring to help him, for he was in poor health, agreed to a sale of a third interest in the printing establishment and household effects, for all were bachelors and cooked and lived in the back room of the office. At the end of a year Patten was in such financial straits that he was forced to sell his third interest back to his benefactor as following bill of sale shows.[11]

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[10] As no history of Benjamin Holliday's achievements has heretofore been given to the public, no censure is placed on past writers for eulogies given this first paper as all they have had to go by were the files of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia. As no accurate account of the "call to existence" of the *Missouri Intelligencer* has been given to the public, the object of this article is to stress the omissions of history and to urge that some of the wrongs that have entered history be righted. The responsibility for the correction of misrepresentations in history as to Nathaniel Patten being a founder of the paper revert to the living descendants of Benjamin Holliday, who are Mrs. Eliza Price, grand-daughter, and Mrs. Anna Brosius Korn, a second great-niece.

Nathaniel Patten—Bill of Sale.

Know all by these presents that I, Nathaniel Patten of County of Howard and Territory of Missouri for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred and fifty dollars to me in hand paid by Benjamin Holliday, Junior, of the County and Territory aforesaid, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, have this day bargained and sold to him, the said Benjamin Holliday, Junior, all the right, title, claim, interest or demand I have in the printing establishment of the Missouri Intelligencer published in Franklin, including all the printing apparatus and stock now belonging to the same, consisting of the following articles, to wit:

One printing press, 250 lbs. puma type, 125 lbs. of French cannon, 81 lbs. bourgeois type, 53 lbs. pica type, 5 lines puma type, 4 lbs. German text on double pica body, 2 lbs. long Primer Flowery, No. 7, two line of Primer horses, 6 lbs. Columbia Black stope, 1½ lbs. two lines of Brevier shaded, 10 feet single brass rule, 5 feet double brass rule, 3¼ lbs. scab board, 3 composing sticks, 5 pair of printing copy, 3 do. stands, 5 galleys, 3 chairs, bank, 3 type boards, 1 keg of printing ink, newspaper, etc., and I do, in consideration of the above named sum, relinquish to the said Holliday all claims to any money that may now be owing to the said establishment, and I do likewise, in consideration of the above named sum of four hundred and fifty dollars, relinquish to the said Holliday all the property and interest I have in a quantity of household and kitchen furniture, consisting of the following articles to wit:

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[11] The bills of sale copied from Book G, page 388 to 391, inclusive, County Recorder's office at Fayette, are offered proofs, together with tales current in the family, with genealogical references.

Benjamin Holliday assumed the control and management of the paper continuously from its founding in 1819 until he sold it July 18th, 1822.

At times during his absence John Payne and John Treadwell Cleveland were employed to assist Stephen on the paper, but they at no time owned any part in it during Holliday's ownership of it. Doubtless their names appeared on it, much the same way as certain ones do now at the head of sporting or society news columns in modern papers.

Mrs. Eliza Price has a leather pocket ledger which bears this inscription: "Presented to Stephen Holliday by his friend John Treadwell Cleveland—Oct. 1823." A note in same shows where Stephen Holliday paid a week's board to Mrs. William Turner, January 13, 1823. Mrs. Price also has letters written by Benjamin Holliday and old certificates of land patent, granted to him by the Government, one in 1825 to farm on which he died.

Two tables and bed stead, blankets ½ doz., dishes ½ doz., knives and forks, ½ doz, 1 coffee mill, 1 coffey pot, 1 teapot, 2 ovens, 3 pots, 1 gridiron, 2 tin kettles, 1 set cups and saucers, 1 tea kettle, 2 pails, 1 looking glass, 1 pair brass candle sticks, ½ doz. chairs. In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 12th day of June, 1820.

The word Junior, erased in second line of first page hereof, before signing and sealing and delivered in the presence of Gray Bynum Clerk and Hampton L. Boone.[12]

NATHANIEL PATTEN (Seal).

Benjamin Holliday was a man of means else he could not have borne so great an undertaking and lived independent of the income of his paper, paid employes and engaged in other lines of business. He continued sole owner of the paper until he sold the entire establishment to Nathaniel Patten, July 18, 1822.

In May, 1822, Nathaniel Patten sought to purchase the printing establishment and as Benjamin Holliday was going to New Orleans he gave Stephen Holliday power of attorney to act for him. The transaction follows:

Fayette, Missouri.
Benjamin Holliday
to
Stephen Holliday[13]
Power of Attorney.

Know all men by these presents that I, Benj. Holliday of Howard County in the State of Missouri, for various good causes and considerations, one thereunto moving, have nominated, constituted and appointed my brother, Stephen Holliday, in fact for me and in my name to transact and do the following business to wit:

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[12] Hampton L. Boone was grandfather of Judge Hampton Boone Watts, of Fayette, whose daughter was Evelyne Boone, who married Benjamin Watts, nephew of Augustus Cave Davis, who was owner of 4,000 acres of land between Boonville and Fayette, and was killed in his park by an elk September 14, 1856. Residence across from Central College.

[13] Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, founder of Topeka, Kansas, and the Santa Fe Railroad, was a cousin to Stephen and Benjamin. Stephen Holliday returned to Kentucky in spring of 1824 and died the following spring. William Holliday founded Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, and was massacred by the Indians. A monument was erected in the place and unveiled to his memory. The Hollidays were founders and builders.

Whereas Nathaniel Patten has made application to me to purchase my printing establishment and the north half of lot 49 in the town of Franklin, as laid off by the Commissioners appointed to locate the "Seat of Justice" of Howard County, and whereas, it may not be convenient for me personally to perfect said sale and conveyance of the said property, now therefore, I do hereby authorize and empower my said attorney, in fact for me and in my name, to sell everything connected with it and of the said house and lots together with the appurtenances and improvements thereunto belonging upon the following conditions to wit:

If the said Nathaniel Patten should at any time on or before the twenty-fourth day of July, next, tender and pay over to my said attorney, in fact all such sums of money as he is now due me which I hereby authorize him to receive and receipt for the same, then in that case, to make the sale on a legal conveyance as aforesaid, otherwise this power of attorney to be void and of no effect.

In testimony thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this twenty-first day of May in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

BENJAMIN HOLLDIAY.[14]

State of Missouri, Howard County.
Before me Augustus Storers, a Justice of the Peace aforesaid county, on the twenty-first day of May, 1822, personally came Benjamin Holliday who acknowledges the foregoing power of attorney by him executed to Stephen Holliday to be his own voluntary act and deed for the purpose therein mentioned given under my hand and seal the day and year stated above.

AUGUSTUS STORERS.

State of Missouri, County of Howard.
Recorded the foregoing instrument of writing on the eighteenth day of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

GRAY BYNUM, Clerk.

On July 18, 1822, the deal was closed and Nathaniel Patten became the lawful owner of the Missouri Intelligencer. The bill of sale follows:

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[14] Benjamin Holliday was own cousin to Benjamin Holliday of National fame, founder of pony express across the plains and owner of Stage Line. He was also owner of Northern Pacific Transportation Company engaged in running steamships between ports. He organized the Oregon Central Railroad Company of Portland in 1874. East Portland addition bears his name. He left a million and a half dollars, which was in litigation for years, the Supreme Court deciding in favor of Benjamin as against Joseph. He ran a "Tavern" in Weston, Missouri, about 1837, was Aide-de-camp to Colonel Doniphan in the Mormon War.

Fayette Missouri, July 23rd, 1822.
Benjamin Holliday
to
Nathaniel Patten.

This indenture made this eighteenth day of July one thousand eighteen hundred and twenty-two between Benjamin Holliday formerly of Howard County and State of Missouri by Stephen Holliday his legally authorized and lawfully constituted attorney, in fact of the one part, and Nathaniel Patten of the County and State aforesaid of the other part, that Benjamin Holliday by his said attorney, in fact hath this day for and in consideration of the sum of twelve hundred dollars of which one thousand dollars have been paid down in and to his said attorney, in fact and a note for two hundred dollars the balance of the consideration hath this day executed to the said Benjamin Holliday by the same Nathaniel Patten of the second part, the receipt of which sum of money and of which note is hereby acknowledged as the full consideration bargained, sold, aliened and conveyed by these presents, do bargain, sell and alien and convey to the said Nathaniel Patten, his heirs, and executors and administrators all the right, title, interest and claim which the said Benjamin Holliday has in and to a certain lot or parcel of ground erected lying and being in the town of Franklin in the county and State aforesaid it being the north half of lot 49 in the said town of Franklin which half lot or parcel of ground the said Benjamin Holliday purchased of the Commissioners to locate the seat of Justice of Howard County and the said Benjamin Holliday doth covenant and bind himself, his heirs and assigns to convey as good a title of the north half of lot 49 in said town as the commissioners appointed to locate "Seat of Justice" of Howard County, namely: William Head, David Jones, Stephen Cole and Benjamin Estell can make to him, the said Benjamin Holliday, by his attorney, in fact doth bind himself to make unto the said Nathaniel Patten his claims which he derived from Abraham Barnes through Herod Corwin in and to the said half lot or parcel of ground to the said Nathaniel Patten.

This indenture and all the covenants therein contained are expressly meant and intended to convey all the title, interest and claim which the said Benjamin Holliday has in and to the said half lot or parcel of ground in the said town, this conveyance to be only a quit claim deed from the said Benjamin Holliday to said Nathaniel Patten, his heirs and etc., by his attorney in fact by and with said Nathaniel his heirs and etc., all the right, title, claim and interest which the said Benjamin Holliday has in and to the Printing Office of establishment of the "Missouri Intelligencer" consisting in part of one printing press, font of small pica type, one font of English type, one font of five pica lines and with all the apparatus belonging to the said Printing Establishment.

The said Benjamin Holliday doth sell and convey all the appurtenances to him and his heirs and etc., free from the claim of any person claiming by or through the said Benjamin Holliday, but the said Benjamin Holliday covenants against no claim except those derived from himself. It is further mutually covenanted by the said Benjamin Holliday and the said Nathaniel Patten this conveyance shall be considered a release of all demands, notes, bonds and obligations they may have had against each other heretofore and also of all accounts up to this date, and it is understood that the note given by the said Nathaniel Patten for two hundred dollars part consideration to the said Benjamin Holliday for the said half of said lot is not included in this last covenant between them.

In testimony whereof, the said Benjamin Holliday by his attorney, in fact Stephen Holliday has hereunto put his hand and seal this eighteenth day of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

BENJAMIN HOLLIDAY [SEAL]
By his attorney,
Stephen Holliday.

Gray Bynum, Clerk,
and
John T. Cleveland, witness.

As Benjamin Holliday declares in this bill of sale that he covenants against no claim except those derived from himself, the lovers of true history are indebted to him as the founder, financier and editor of the first American newspaper west of Saint Louis. If there is a man who deserves to be honored, reverenced, and lionized it is this Missouri Editor, for without him there would be no *Missouri Intelligencer and Boone's Lick Advertiser.*

'Tis he with the Coopers and other colonists who blazed the way that we might enjoy a home in peace and safety in our imperial state.

With the passing of the paper Benjamin Holliday turned his attention to other pursuits of life. On August 16, 1823, at the age of thirty-seven years, Benjamin Holliday was united in marriage to Miss Eliza Basye, at Franklin, daughter of Captain Alfred Basye and Frances Wilton Robinson.

Captain Basye was representative from Howard county in lower branch of the General Assembly. He was captain in the Missouri Militia and was afterward promoted to major and filled other positions of trust.[15]

His home was south of the Executive Mansion in Jefferson City, now the property of Mrs. Lay, daughter of Rilly Boone.

In 1824 Benjamin Holliday opened up an overland trading expedition from Franklin to Santa Fe, New Mexico, adopting the same route as had been established by William Becknell in 1821. The following year he formed a partnership with Augustus Storers and they conducted a trading post with the Indians at Council Bluffs.[16] In 1827 he moved his family to Fayette where he became a merchant, opening a general store from which he prospered.

During the early 30's Benjamin Holliday formed a partnership with Sterling Price, afterward the illustrious Confederate Missouri general. They bought and sold horses and mules, marketing them in Saint Louis and New Orleans. Price boarded in the Holliday home and while an inmate of it vaccinated the three Holliday children. He also courted Nancy Basye, sister of Mrs. Holliday, who later became the wife of attorney M. Starks, of Springfield, Missouri.

Holliday and Price supported races in Fayette and had horses on the famous Benjamin Watts track. Price's favorite horse for speed was "Mary Bedford" and he always bet on her.

Benjamin Holliday secured the contract to carry the mails between Glasgow and Boonville and employed George and Wash Knox to assist in its delivery.

When Alexander Campbell conducted his first religious revival in Fayette in 1845 Benjamin Holliday was one of his converts, and he and his family afterwards united with the Christian church.

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[15] The *Columbia Herald* under date of April 14, 1899, in chronicling marriages of seventy-five years ago, says:

"Married in August, 1826, in Howard county, Missouri, Major Benjamin Holliday to Miss Eliza Basye, daughter of Captain Alfred Basye." Date should be August 16, 1823.

[16] Augustus Storers was father-in-law of John Rawlins, who was a son of John Rawlins and Nancy Holliday, daughter of Benjamin Holliday, 5th son of Captain John Holliday.

Benjamin Holliday and wife had three children, viz:

Frances Wilton Holliday, born August 30, 1825: married to Elias William McClanihan February 22, 1844; died May 18, 1911. Nine children were born to this union. Two survive: Mrs. Royal Bradley, of Mexico, Missouri, and Mrs. Eliza Price, widow of Robert McClintik Price, of Columbia, Missouri.[17]

Miss Caroline Colson Holliday, born November 3, 1826; died May 8, 1906. Her early tutorage was under private instruction, same as sister and brother. Later as did they, attended school under Wm. McNair, David Lucky and Carr Pritchett. She fitted herself for a teacher and taught in Prichett Institute and Lindenwood College, St. Charles, where she spent much time in home of Uncle Judge Andrew King. Left $1,000 to Christian Church.[18]

Junius Alonzo Holliday, attorney at law, born June 12, 1829, at Fayette. Died in Hamilton, Missouri, July 17, 1901. Early tutorage same as sisters. Studied law at Central College, Fayette. Later at St. Charles. Was admitted to bar. Practiced with Judge Andrew King in Saint Louis. Judge King was U. S. Congressman from his district in 1871. Junius Alonzo Holliday practiced law in Fayette a while before going to Hamilton in 1866, where he located permanently, becoming the second resident attorney, through persuasion of his *cousin Albert Gallatin Davis*, founder of Hamilton.[19]

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[17] Elias Wm. McClanihan owned a section of land on the University road at Columbia. He was a son of John McClanihan and Nancy Earle, of Greenville, South Carolina. He was a grandson of Rev. William McClanihan, whose wife was Mary Marshal, sister of Chief Justice John Marshal, who was a daughter of Colonel Thomas Marshal.

[18] *The Standard Atlas of Howard County*, published in 1897, page 47, shows Caroline Holliday and J. A. Holliday to be landowners in township 48-49 N. Range 17-18 West.

[19] *Missouri Manual, 1915-16*, page 165, mentions J. A. Holliday as Democratic delegate from Fourth District to State convention to revise the Constitution of Missouri. Junius Alonzo Holliday and Miss Caroline Holliday are buried beside their parents, Major Benjamin Holliday and wife, in the country graveyard on the John Q. Calloway farm, across from Davis farm. Here are also buried Mary Colson Holliday Davis, Augustus Cave Davis and son, Wade Hampton Davis.

In 1875 he was a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention from the Fourth District. He was also clerk of the Missouri State Senate. He was candidate for Judge of the Fourth District in 1880 but was defeated by Judge Broaddus. He was in Gallatin, Missouri, a year where he assisted in straightening out the books of the Gallatin Savings Bank. He was unmarried and left ten thousand dollars to his sisters, Frances McClanihan and Miss Caroline Holliday.

About 1854 Benjamin Holliday moved from Fayette to his farm near Boonesboro which he managed, assisted by his devoted wife and faithful slaves, and lived in peace and plenty among the haunts that fascinated him on his advent to Boone's Lick. He died April 1, 1859, followed by his wife August 23, 1867.

Benjamin Holliday was small in stature, being five and a half feet in height. He had black hair and blue eyes. He was termed the little "Frenchman," because of his inate politeness. He was well groomed and immaculate in his toilet. A typical gentleman of the "Old South" of Democratic politics, a fluent talker, he encouraged all matters pertaining to the public good. His friends were among the prominent men of his day. He was possessed of that unconquerable heroism in man which danger can not intimidate, which obstacles can not turn back, which labor can not paralyze, which time can not weaken, which failure can not discourage, which opposition can not disarm. He was a valiant force, determined at all hazards on success.

His life was pure and simple, his faith calm and trusting, his heart gentle and loving. He is an incitement to the spirit of his times, a glory of human power to be admired among the pioneers who illuminated the first half of the nineteenth century of Missouri's history.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN.

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

FIRST ARTICLE.

The influence of Gottfried Duden's "Report" on the immigration of Germans to the United States and particularly to the Mississippi Valley has frequently been referred to by various culturo-historical writers. In comparison with the great wave of German immigrants which landed on our shores from 1848 to 1850, many of whom were political refugees, the followers of Duden have received relatively little consideration. Yet their services have been too meritorious and their contributions too valuable to warrant the semi-obscurity which now enshrouds some of their names and deeds. In the following an attempt will be made to present, largely from hitherto unpublished sources, the story of some of the many men that followed the author of the famous "Report" into the wilds of Missouri. We shall let them give the picture of Missouri as they found it, the native population with whom they associated, their struggle with primitive conditions, the impression and the joy which was theirs in coming from one of the most autocratic to one of the most liberal countries in the world, their honest criticism of what they found and experienced here, their honest endeavor to become in the fullest sense, one with the state in which they elected to cast their lot, their contributions, their successes and their failures.

THE STEINES FAMILY AND THEIR ASSOCIATES.

Hermann and Frederick Steines, natives of Rhenish Prussia, Germany, were the leaders of a body of pioneers who settled in Franklin county, Missouri. They were well educated men who, in the painstaking manner of a by-gone age, kept diaries and wrote letters full of worth-while content, describing their condition at home, their journey to America, and their life as beginners in a young state of the New World. It is these documents which engage our attention for a while.

The vast majority of these papers have hitherto remained unpublished. A small number of letters of Hermann Steines and one letter by Frederick Steines appeared in pamphlet form, being edited by the brother-in-law of these two men, Friederich Dellmann, teacher in the Progymnasium in Meurs, Germany. The reason for publishing such a pamphlet was the desire to distribute the information contained in the letters among a large number of relatives and friends, since it was manifestly impossible for the emigrants to write to all those who were left behind. Nearly all the Steines documents are in the German language and are here presented in translated form.

In the foreword of the published letters Friedrich Dellmann gives us certain information which is not only interesting but valuable for a better understanding of the emigration enterprise. Among other things we read that the topic of emigration to America was then an all absorbing one among the Germans. We read: "For some years the editor of these letters and his relatives have had their attention fixed on emigration to the United States of America. We were made especially attentive to this matter by the report of an American journey by Mr. Duden. We were interested not because we ourselves lived in physical want, but because of intellectual needs. Our interest increased the more we read and heard about America, and the more we investigated the physical basis of existence in our home country. It did not seem wise to trust implicitely the statements of Mr. Duden, since we did not know the man personally, tho he seems entitled to our confidence, especially since the publication of his second work "Europe and Germany." Our resolve to emigrate was fixed, provided it could be shown that Duden's "Report" was based on fact. To determine this point, that member of our family, best fitted to make the investigation, was sent to America during the spring of last year. If he substantiates Duden's "Report" we intend to migrate thither, and hope to assist

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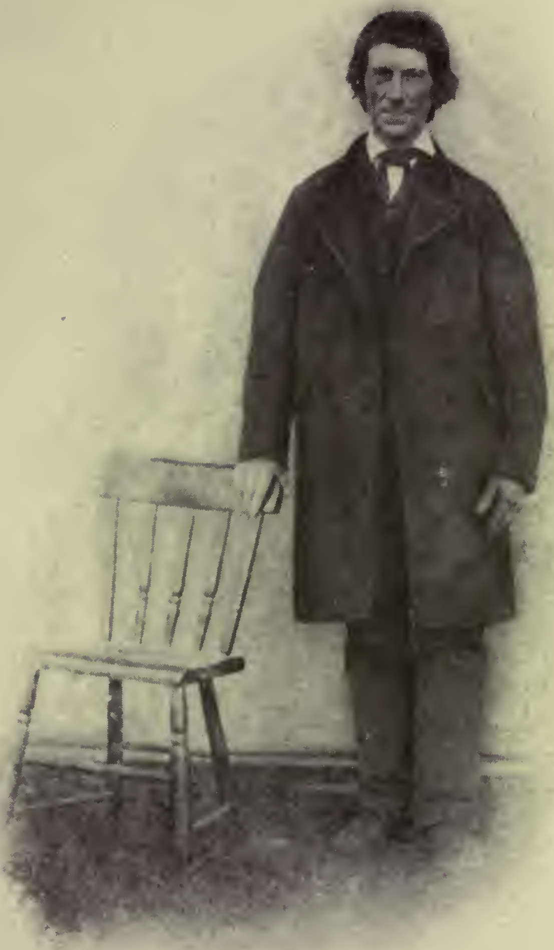

HERMANN STEINES

many of our fellow countrymen, who are in need, to do the same. Our representative is Hermann Steines, the brother-in-law of the editor of these letters. With him goes also his cousin Adolph Greef, a master tailor, and the latter's family, consisting of his wife and five children. Hermann Steines, who is the author of most of the letters in this collection, had been engaged in the drug business for some ten years. His scientific studies included Botany, Chemistry and Physics. Aside from these his favorite study was Latin. Greek and French attracted his interest to a smaller degree. During the last year before his journey the English language was his main study. In Latin, Botany and Chemistry he made splendid progress. He is a single man who was more than amply supplied with financial means for the journey. He went with strict instruction to subject Duden's "Report" to searching examination. Cincinnati on the Ohio was selected as the place especially to be investigated. From there he was asked to make trips of exploration, especially to the Mississippi and the Missouri. From his letters it will be seen that he did not find in Cincinnati what he needed and continued his journey to St. Louis. His family is very much pleased with this move, since in St. Louis he is so much nearer the scene which is to be especially investigated. Since Hermann Steines is a very conscientious, thoughtful and wide-awake young man, and besides has the most explicit injunctions to report only after the most searching investigation, in order that he might not have to reproach himself if his statements brought misfortune upon his family, therefore the reader may be assured that his reports are based upon truth, and are the product of the greatest care and thoughtfulness. Our representative has been charged to procure the writings of Duden, F. Schmidt, L. Gall, A. Muerat, Loewig, Brauns and others and to study them most minutely and then compare them with his own observations, whereupon the results of his investigation are to be sent to me for distribution."

It is interesting to note how carefully the Steines family followed many suggestions of Duden. According to Duden's

"Report" a group of prospective emigrants was urged to send a representative to investigate conditions as they were, —this was done by the Steines group—the season suggested as the best to make the journey was chosen by them, and so in many, many other things they followed Duden's directions literally.

The translation of the documents follows:

"Bremen, April 30, 1833.

"My dear Parents:

"Perhaps you think that I am even now upon the ocean. This might indeed have been the case, if I were alone, but, when in company with a family, lodging and passage are not found so easily as when one is alone. We went from one ship's agent to the other, but nowhere could we find sufficient room for our party, except on ships whose rates were exorbitant. The firm of Westhoff and Meyer wanted to charge Greef $175.00 in gold, and refused to grant the least reduction, in spite of the fact that the ship will not sail till May 8. This is indeed the first ship in which we could have made the journey, since all those that sail sooner have no room left for such a group as ours. The brothers Kochs, as you already know, had secured passage in advance and they will sail, at the latest, on May 6, on the ship Columbus. It is a source of much regret that we could not secure passage on the Columbus. These are the consequences of not having negotiated with the ship's agents in advance. Emigrating families or larger groups must heed this especially, for the individual traveler who pays $30.00 in gold can find a place at almost any time. I, for instance, could still have found room on the Columbus, but you will understand why I acted as I did. Greef and I have just drawn up a contract with the ship's agent, Karl Traub, according to which contract we shall depart during the second week in May on board the ship Weser, Captain Hermann Graun. The Weser is a Bremen ship and has a German crew. If our departure is delayed, which is hardly probable, the aforesaid ship's agent is bound by the contract to pay for board and lodging after May 15. It is very probable that we shall sail about May 8, since about all the places on the ship are spoken for. The steerage room of our ship is six feet high. On the Columbus the steerage passengers could not stand erect. The height of the steerage room is a matter of great importance. Greef must now pay $145.00 and I pay the regular rate of $30.00. In this way Greef pays only the regular rate, tho usually four adults are considered equal to three children. For his passage, as that also of his wife, of his daughter Ida (age 16), his son Wilhelm (age 13) he pays $30.00 each, for the three smaller ones $15.00, $7.50 and $3.75 respectively. I must not forget to mention a splendid man of honor whom we met here. His name is Ordemann, who lives in Langestrasze and is a beer brewer by profession. He has helped us in innumerable ways. Justly he reproached us for not having made reservations in advance, and said that if we had applied to him, he would have secured passage for us. If this had been done, he could have advised us as to when to come here. The benevolence of this man did not extend to us alone. He requested me to write to you or any other persons contemplating this journey to write to him without reserve, whereupon he would inform you or others when to arrive here. Having been told that many others from our neighborhood would follow us, he had the enclosed cards printed in order that they might be distributed among our friends.* I had a letter of recommendation to him, and he took a lively and sympathetic interest in my affairs. He recommends that those contemplating a trip to America should write to him and state accurately the number of persons in the emigrating party, the respective ages of the persons in the party, and the date when they should like to sail. Ample time should be given him, in order that he may have an opportunity of making advantageous contracts with ship owners. The emigrants may then remain at home until Mr. Ordemann informs them concerning the time at which the ship, on which he has secured passage for them, will depart. One-fifth of the passage money must be remitted in advance, in order that the agent may be reimbursed for the expenses he has had in the event that the passengers should fail to arrive. If the ship should not depart immediately upon the arrival of the emigrants, Mr. Ordemann will provide cheap and good accommodations for them in his inn. Mr. Ordemann expressed surprise that we should have to pay from twenty-five to twenty-nine Groten (a low German coin, valued at four pence in English money) per day. In case the ship is delayed for a longer time in the harbor than was originally stipulated, the ship's agent is obliged to furnish board and lodging for the extra time. In our case this provision would go into effect on the fifteenth of this month. Mr. Ordemann does not take any commission for his services. His sole interest is this, that by furnishing many passengers to the ship owners he is able to sell much beer, of which every ship requires a certain amount. He is an honest man, to whom I would much rather intrust this sort of business than to the agents who carry on this kind of enterprise solely for their own enrichment, and often extort large sums from families that have many children. These agents will send flattering literature into your neighborhood. I advise you to warn the people against them. Most of them are not reliable. To be sure, the ship owners have made contracts with these agents stipulating the amount they are allowed for their services, but they do not adhere to these figures. Adolph may count himself lucky, for his charges are not excessive. In fact he could not have gotten the passage cheaper. The only really disagreeable thing that we have encountered is the fact that we have to wait so long.

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*The card read as follows: "Nic. Ordemann, Beerbrewer in Bremen, Langenstrasze No. 116, will gladly and promptly assist emigrants in securing passage on ships to America, and will willingly give information regarding such passage and conditions pertaining thereto. Passengers may secure board and lodging at his inn during their stay here."

"Now a few things about the journey. On the twenty-first cousin L. accompanied me as far as Stockenberg. Here we said goodbye, and at six o'clock I was in Gelsenkirchen. I was cordially received. On the following morning we had to say farewell again. The mother of the brothers Kochs had been ill for several weeks and yet she had the strength to bid her sons adieu without shedding a tear. Via Recklinghausen we went to Haltern on the Lippe. On the twenty-third we went thru Duelmen, Appelhuelsen and Muenster as far as Telgte where we met Adolph and his family. In Muenster we saw the three iron cages on the wall of the tower of St. Lamberti church, in which cages the three fanatics of the time of the Reformation found their death. On the twenty-fourth we went from Telgete to Glandorf, this being the first Hanovarian village thru which we passed. Here a revenue officer is located, but we were not required to pay duty. On the same day we passed thru Iburg and arrived at Oesede, and on the twenty-fifth we journeyed to Osnabrueck, a long, narrow town, situated on a hilly plain. It took us ten minutes to go thru the small sector of the Prussian district of Minden, after which we went thru Kappeln, Bohmte and Lempfoerde. On the twenty-sixth, from there thru Diepholz, Drebben, Barnstref and Twistringen; on the twenty-seventh, from there via Brinkum, the last Hanovarian village, where we found another toll station. The accursed toll collector did not want to let us thru without paying an entrance as well as an excise duty, unless we were willing to unpack our belongings. He charged us two Groten per hundred pounds as entrance fee and two Groten passage fee. In my case this amounted to eight Groten, while Greef had to pay twenty-four Groten or one Thaler. After half an hour we reached the territory of Bremen which we greeted with a loud hurrah. In another half hour we were in the town itself, and I then went to see D. I was very much disappointed. My quarters did not please me at all. Mr. D. is not worthy of a recommendation. It seemed to me that he sought to extort money from the emigrants just like every other swindler does. But we have been on our guard in our dealing with him, as we are with all other persons, who try to become too intimate with us. We strongly recommend and urge everybody to stick to their previously designed purpose, to use their own good sense, and to follow only the advice of unselfish and tried men. As far as our quarters are concerned, we are now getting along fairly well. We have a living room and two bedrooms with four beds. Kochs, Adolph's boy and I have our room in the attic. For breakfast we get coffee for six Groten per person, for our dinner we pay ten Groten each, and in the evening we again have coffee and also beer and bread and butter. In future I shall procure bread and butter for myself, adding thereto some sausage, whereby my living expenses will be decreased. We pay three Groten for our bed. A Louisd'or as also a Friedrichsd'or is worth five Thaler here. One Thaler is equal to seventy-two Groten. The Scheidt brothers have issued me a draft payable in Baltimore by a brother of Mr. Luermann. Such a draft is considered absolutely safe. I get three and three-fourths dollars for one Friedrichsd'or, that is to say fifteen dollars for twenty Thaler in gold. Since a dollar is worth one hundred cents, the local gold Thaler is worth seventy-five cents. The journey to this place has cost me about three Prussian Thaler. The cash which I shall have on hand before my departure, I shall exchange for American dollars (Spanish Piasters) according to the above rate of exchange, for one loses heavily in the exchange of our money in America. Greef will take his money partly in form of drafts and partly in American dollars. The Kochs brothers also have drafts on Baltimore.

"We met here so many emigrants, that it is not surprising that we were detained so long. On our entire way, especially from Muenster on, we found the inhabitants so occupied with emigration projects, and so many had already emigrated, that the erroneously entertained conception that an emigrant is a good-for-nothing, a revolutionist, or an adventurer has been rather successfully dispelled. These people have every reason to migrate, for the wages of an artisan are meager and the soil which the farmer tills is very, very poor. From Recklinghausen on we saw scarcely anything but sandy stretches of heath, very sparsely settled, low, humble cottages, whose inhabitants wrested but a scant harvest from the barren heath. In Haltern we encountered for the first time houses with doors that resembled the doors on our barns. These houses are so arranged that the people live in one part of the building while the other part is given over to the live stock. Not only the peasants but also the burgers live thus. Only a few build in our manner. In the homes of the peasants, as also in those of some of the inhabitants of the city, the hearth is in the spacious middle room of the house, and since they have no chimneys the smoke of the burning turf permeates the entire house and finds its way thru the great door, on which account everything in the house, the people included, look black. But, as I have said, here and there one finds better living conditions. In Bremen and in some of the town and in their environment tile stoves are found. From these stoves pipes extend thru the walls of the rooms into the street, on which account the streets are often filled with smoke.

"Baring a few adventures we had a great deal of fun on our journey here. We had a splendid driver who is worthy of the highest recommendation. Except at Oesede we found good lodging places everywhere. At that place we were obliged to spend the night in a genuine peasant lodging. The ragged inn-keeper sat on the spooling wheel, and he, as also his wife, was black with soot. The house, like most of the houses in the country and the villages, consisted of only one story. The meals were tolerable, but there was only one bed room with four ragged, dirty beds. We took off our coats and went to bed but slept only a little. We were awake at four and soon departed. In Lempfoerde we found one hotel filled. In another there were so many Jews that it stunk of garlic. However, we got two rooms and the Jews vacated their beds and themselves slept on the straw. Fortunately we remained free of vermin.

"Now I will close, promising to inform you concerning the day on which we sail. One thing more occurs to me. In that untidy inn at Oesede we had a great feed bucket for our chamber utensil. In general, however, these people were very obliging and attentive, and they had every cause to be so, for this lodging cost us more than any other along the whole way. From Lempfoerde to Diepholz we saw many storks. They make their nests on the pointed gables of the straw covered roofs. Here in Bremen there are also some storks.

"Now farewell. Accept my most cordial greetings and the assurance that we are all well and happy. Tell Ed. Ullmann that the boat Osperg crossed the ocean in safety.

Your

HERMANN."

"Bremen, May 14, 1833.

"My dear parents:

"Still in Bremen. We are getting experience, you see. For heaven's sake make it clear to every one anxious to emigrate, that it is not so easy to get away from European soil, even if money is at hand. Tell them that they must by all means have a proper contract before they leave their homes. I cannot understand how it is possible, in the face of so many bitter experiences which their countrymen have had, that our people do not yet understand that a binding contract is absolutely necessary in order to avoid being cheated by the ship's agents, or at least to avoid long and unpleasant delay. I wish to call to your attention once more what I wrote you in regard to Mr. Ordemann. From the card which I sent you you will see that he furnishes board and lodging. I have convinced myself that his house is very well suited to the needs of emigrants. He has large rooms where one can sleep, and handsome bed rooms and living rooms for families and for those who wish to live more elegantly. Hearths are provided for families who wish to do their own cooking. It is understood that families will bring their own bedding which they can use on the ship during the journey. He told me that he would furnish room and lodging for twenty-four Groten per person, if they did not ask for separate bed rooms. We, as you know, are obliged to pay more in the inferior place where we are. I must admit we are treated fairly well where we are, and have the best rooms which they have. For a young fellow like myself this is good enough. But if you or others who wish to live a little better should make this journey, I must say that I cannot conscientiously recommend this house to you.

"There are a great many emigrants in town. A week or two ago there were almost two thousand here each day. On the average there are a little more than a thousand a day, so that the lodging houses for emigrants are very much crowded. In the little inn Daubstein there are more than thirty. Emigrants from almost every province of Germany are seen on the streets. Most of them are on their way to Baltimore. The Kochs brothers sailed from here on the second of May.

"It is no wonder that the Germans are held in such low esteem by the Americans, for by far the greater part of the German emigrants belong to a low class of people, a circumstance not at all conducive of instilling a high regard of the Germans in the minds of the Americans. But, as I have said, there are also some very well-bred persons among them.

"I have made my stay fairly agreeable by visiting the Reverends Krummacher and von Aschen and a certain apothecary Kindt, as well as Mr. Ordemann, on whom I have frequently called. On the seventh I dined with Mr. Krummacher, and on the eleventh with Mr. von Aschen. The latter has married a sister of the late Mr. Scheidt. The pastor's wife attended school with you, and when I told her that you might perhaps come this way, she asked me to tell you to be sure to visit them during your stay here. Mr. von Aschen has two sons in America who are farming near Cincinnati.

"Thru the assistance of Mr. Ordemann I received a letter from a Quaker to the Quaker Mr. Soeppler in Baltimore who is said to be very rich. This letter contains a recommendation, and Mr. Soeppler is requested to advise me as to the best steps to take after arriving in America.

"Now a few things about the city of Bremen. It consists of an old and a new town, which are separated from each other by the larger branch of the Weser. The smaller branch separates the new town from an island situated between the two branches. On the island, too, there are many houses. Over both branches of the Weser bridges are built. The one over the smaller branch is sixty, the one over the larger branch is one hundred and sixty paces long. The old town is built in old fashion, having very high houses, narrow streets, most of which are without sidewalks. On the city wall and on the promenades it is very pretty. Most of the houses have bay-windows, but cannot be called pretty, not as pretty, at least, as the houses in Barmen, Duesseldorf and Crefeld. The city hall is decorated with much sculpturing. In the wine cellar under this city hall wines valued at a ducat per drop are deposited. Good beer belongs to the noteworthy things of Bremen. On the market place in front of the city hall there is a statute of the liberator of the city of Breman, Roland, in colossal size. The new town is more regularly built and has many beautiful walks with linden trees on each side, but there, too, many houses are low and poor."

"Bremen Harbor, May 17, 1833. In the morning.

"On the morning of the fifteenth we loaded our boxes on a cart. When we were just in the act of departing fire broke out in a distillery a few doors from Daubstein's, so that we had great difficulty in getting thru the crowd. Since the process of loading the boat is very slow work, it was seven in the evening before we left Bremen. The boat in which we departed was broad but not long, and in it seventy persons were crowded like herrings. With many others I stayed on deck. Later I slept on my straw mattress till midnight. On account of the darkness we could not see Bagesack nor Bracke, where most of the ships lie at anchor. About midnight the flood tide set in. The foaming waters opposed us so much that we had to cast anchor. After a short time the anchors were raised again and a favorable wind conveyed us hither, where we arrived at six a. m. We are now in the new harbor of the city of Bremen, a region which the city has bought from Hanover. It is called Bremerhafen. It is about a mile (¼ Stunden) long, and not quite as broad as the Ruhr river, but very deep. At present ten large ships are here. To-day our baggage will be loaded on the ship Ernst and Gustav for the Weser which we were supposed to take is held up for repairs. There is room enough, and the steerage is just high enough for me to stand erect. The steerage contains twenty-eight beds, giving accomodations for one hundred and forty persons. I had imagined ocean vessels to be much larger than they actually appear to be. I have not been able to ascertain the exact size of ours as yet. It may be larger than I think.

"Bremenhafen is only a village now, but may develop into a city some day. The Weser river is broader here than in Bremen. It is said to be half a mile wide in places. We are still forty some miles from the mouth of the Weser, seven miles from Bremen and about two miles from Bremerlehe.

"In the afternoon.

"Now we are on the great boat. Captain Laun of Bremen has just arrived. When you get this letter we shall doubtless be on the ocean, for the captain said they would raise the anchors early to-morrow morning. As yet we have not had anything to eat on board of ship, but I am confident that we shall have enough when it does come.

"Now farewell, and be without anxiety on my account, for I am very well. On board of our ship are people from Muenster, Hanover, Wuerttemberg, Hessia and Prussia. There are many fine people among them. All are emigrants. Goodbye then till Baltimore.

Your loving son,
HERMANN."

CONCERNING EMIGRANTS' CONTRACT WITH SHIP OWNERS.

(From an original document among the Steines papers.)

"Conditions under which J. D. Luedering in Bremen, the authorized ship's agent, who has been appointed by the government to receive emigrants and to assist them to their ships, agrees to make contracts for the passage from Bremen to the United States of North America."

"1) For the transportation of passengers only such ships are accepted as are provided with roomy steerage quarters and whose efficiency has been duly tested and investigated and is vouched for by the insurance company prior to the beginning of the journey.

"2) During the journey the passengers receive their board free, board such as it is customary to serve on board of ship, consisting of salt beef, salt and smoked bacon, shelled beans, green and yellow peas, groats, rice, farinaceous foods, potatoes, etc., everything in sufficient quantity and well prepared; in addition to this—in the morning coffee or tea, toast, fresh water, etc. For the men a drink of brandy is provided in the morning. In case of sickness the patients receive appropriate food and necessary medicine, of which a sufficient supply is on board. In order that no want may arise during the journey, the above named supplies are taken in a superfluous quantity, calculated sufficient for a journey of ninety days.

"3) The ordinary traveling baggage of passengers is conveyed free of charge. Under the term 'ordinary traveling baggage' is meant a trunk or chest of about twenty cubic feet content per passenger. In this matter only the size and not the weight of the chest is taken into consideration.

"4) Passengers will find suitable beadsteads, but they must supply their own bedding or straw mattresses, as well as their own dishes, spoons, knives and forks.

"5) The rate of steerage passage to Baltimore, New York, or Philadelphia is the following per individual:

Persons over twelve years of age 40 Thaler in gold.
Children from eight to twelve years 30 Thaler in gold.
Children from four to eight years 20 Thaler in gold.
Children from one to four years 10 Thaler in gold.
Children under one year of age 5 Thaler in gold.

"Since however, according to an American law, only a certain number of passengers may be transported on each steamer, (for every five tons of the ship's displacement only two passengers), and since children are estimated equal to adults in this matter, therefore it is assumed that under the above quoted rates for children their number will be such proportion to the number of adults that a sufficiently large average sum per head will be realized. The now customary sum, required of families or parties, amounts to thirty-five Thaler in gold per head, according to which only one child is allowed with three adults. If there are more children than can be apportioned according to the above scale, additional payment must be made. Families will therefore do well to combine with other adult persons whose fare is uniformly forty Thaler. I myself shall endeavor to make the passage of families as cheap as possible by securing combinations with other adults.

"6) The age of childern must be certified to by birth certificates, and every passenger must be provided with a passport to the foreign country.

"7) In a few places in North America, especially in New York and Philadelphia, the goverment demands a poor-tax (Armen-Taxe) of immigrants upon their arrival. This amounts to a sum ranging from one to four Spanish Thaler or one and a half to five Thaler in gold. This fee passes under the term of Commutation money. All passengers sailing to any of these points must deposit this amount at the time they pay their fare.

"8) If passengers wish to assure themselves of the transportation opportunities they are obliged to deposit one-fifth of their fare in advance, and then remit the remainder in cash to the undersigned before going on board ship.

"9) The shipowners consider themselves bound after the receipt of this fare to secure passage on another ship, according to the passenger's choice, in case the ship to which the passenger has been assigned meets with an accident while on the Weser or in its vicinity, or they agree to annul the contract altogether by returning the fare paid, or they will furnish the passenger with securities for the amount of fare which was paid before entering upon the journey.

"10) After the payment of the above named amount of one-fifth of the fare has been made, both parties are considered obligated to one another. In due season the time is stipulated when the passenger is to arrive in order to go on board of ship.

"11) In case that a passenger does not arrive at the appointed time, or in the event that he should not be able to pay the remainder of his fare, then the preliminary payment is lost and is applied to the defraying of expenses that have been incurred.

"12) NOTICE: Since the places on the ships are usually made sure of by advance reservation, it is necessary that those who wish to secure passage at a definite time, send in their advance payment early, and at the same time stipulate when they should like to sail, to which port in North America, and of how many persons their party consists. In enumerating the persons constituting a party of travelers, care should be taken that the first names and surnames, the place of residence and the trade, the number of men, women and children are given, and that the ages of the children are carefully and accurately stipulated. I shall then engage passage on good ships which depart for the desired port at the designated time. The date when the passengers are to be here will be designated by me. Only those passengers who are able to pay the entire amount of fare are accepted, and everybody is hereby warned not to come without possessing the necessary means. Under no condition will free passage be allowed on promise to work on board of ship, or upon promise to pay after arriving in America. The local government sends all those, who are unable to pay the passage, back to their home country.

"Since it has often happened that persons who came here without having made preliminary arrangements have been obliged to stay here from three to four weeks at their own expense, the local government urgently requests those who wish to sail from Bremen to make their reservations in advance, in order to avoid great inconvenience and loss.

"Sailing opportunities to Philadelphia are infrequent, but one is able to get to Philadelphia from Baltimore as well as from New York in one day for three or four Thaler per person. To New Orleans sailing opportunities are also rare, and a higher rate is charged to that point.

"a) Passage, for adults, in the ship's cabin, costs ninety Thaler in gold to New York or Philadelphia, and eighty Thaler in gold to Baltimore. Cabin passengers dine at the captain's table, but must pay extra for articles of luxury, such as wines, etc. They must also furnish their own bedding and towels.

"b) Every cabin passenger is obliged to make an advance payment of four Louisd'or. Every steerage passenger makes such a payment of two Louisd'or.

"c) The bedding, which every passenger is obliged to furnish, may consist of a mattress, pillows and woolen blankets. Mattresses and pillows filled with sea-weed can be procured here at two and two-thirds Thaler, the same filled with straw for one and one-third Thaler. A woolen blanket costs about two Thaler.

"d) Passengers will find it most advantageous to exchange their money into Spanish Thaler or to take it in the form of drafts, both of which can be procured here. Prussian currency, Kronenthaler, etc., are accepted in payment of passage and computed at the proper rate of exchange. Five Thaler in gold are equal to one Pistole or one Louisd'or.

"e) I forward all letters to North America without extra charge, provided they have the proper postage prepaid.

"The advantages of Bremen over ports in Holland and France, as pertains to the opportunities of sailing, business-like and pleasant treatment, good equipment and cheapness of fare are so generally understood and appreciated that it seems superfluous to discuss them here in detail.

"The purpose of the undersigned is by no means to encourage emigration, but to assist those who have made up their minds to emigrate and to provide for them the best and at the same time the cheapest possible passage. This I am enabled to do since I am always sending suitable passenger ships to Baltimore, and also dispatch the regularly going packet ships to New York. I shall be glad to give further detailed information upon receipt of postage prepaid inquiries. Passengers are under no obligation to pay me any commission.

May 9, 1833.

J. D. LUEDERING, Ship's Agent,
Langenstrasze, No. 39, Bremen."

HERMANN STEINES' FIRST AMERICAN LETTER.

"Baltimore, July 16, 1833.

"My dear Parents:

"Before I begin the account of my journey I wish to inform you that I, as also Adolph (Greef) and his family, arrived in the local harbor in the afternoon of the 12th inst., being in good health and fine spirits. From my letter, dated May 17th, in the Harbor of Bremen, you know that on the 18th of May we sailed from that port; but we did not reach the North Sea until about noon of the 19th. Many passengers were sea-sick while we were yet on the Weser river. I, however, as well as Adolph and the remaining adults of our party did not become sea-sick until we reached the North Sea on the afternoon of the 19th. The children were, for the most part, free from the illness, and in the case of the adults improvement soon came, altho there continued to be a lack of appetite, and there was much headache, both occasioned by the poor food which we received. For a week, till the first day of Pentecost, I was threatened with indigestion, which, however, did not trouble me so very much because I ate almost nothing. I advised everyone not to go on board without his own provisions, because no one, however humbly he may be accustomed to live, can find the fare which is served to steerage passengers palatable. Each morning from three to five men had to attend to the cooking. These men had to get up at five o'clock in the morning, fetch the water from the barrels, build the fire, and make the coffee. For one hundred and thirty-six passengers, big and little, only eighteen and a half ounces of coffee beans were allowed. Besides the water was so bad that I could not drink any coffee or tea on the whole journey. In the morning we also took a little brandy and sweetened it with sugar in a flask in which there were some lemon peelings. This composition was an invention of mine. This drink with some toast, a piece of bacon weighing from two to four ounces, served sometimes raw and sometimes cooked, constituted my morning and my evening meal. The ship's toast was made of coarse flour and was so thoroly dried that it was sometimes burned. At noon our cooks had to prepare soup with peas and beans, rice, gruel made of barley, and potatoes with salted and smoked beef and pork. The rice and the barley were unpalatable to me and on the days when they were served I rarely ate anything. Adolph did not fare much better. Thank heaven, we lived thru it and our health is unimpaired.

"After we had been on the ship for about two weeks, Captain Laun began to take special interest in me. I received permission to come to his cabin whenever I wished and I drank many a glass of good wine and grog with him. After he had heard that I took no tea in the evening, I was frequently invited to take the evening meal with him. This preferment was perhaps in part due to the fact that the two passengers who occupied the cabin with him were stupid fellows whom the captain could not endure.

"Now concerning the progress of our journey. We did not go thru the Channel of Calias but by the northern route around Great Britain. On the entire journey the wind varied from northwest to southwest and was therefore advantageous to this sort of trip. On the 21st we were at the heights of Edinburg, on the 23rd we saw Fair Island and the Shetland Islands. On the 24th we sailed westward between the Shetland and the Faroe Islands. The southwest wind prevailed so that we could only tack in a southwesterly direction. On the 29th we got northwest wind. During the third week in June we saw some seaplants which were carried by the Gulf Stream, and on the 19th of June we were at the southern point of the great Bank of New Foundland. Here a dense fog prevailed for several days. The captain was much concerned on account of icebergs. (For the presence of icebergs in this locality see Duden's account.) The thermometer fell so low that we had reason to conclude that ice was near, but we did not see any. The captain desired to avoid the Gulf Stream by sailing southward along the American coast, leaving the Gulf Stream to the east of us, but adverse winds compelled him to sail east of the Stream. On the 28th of June we were on the 36th parallel north, in the outer edge of the Gulf Stream, but got out of it, and did not get into it again till July the 5th when we were opposite New York. On the evening of July 6 there was a calm. On the 7th the wind began to blow again about noon, and in the evening we had crossed the Gulf Stream opposite Philadelphia. On the 9th of July the sounding lead indicated bottom at a depth of twenty fathoms. The bottom consisted of coarse sand mixed with shells of animals. At one o'clock on the 10th of July, the captain wakened me in order to show me the lighthouse of Cape Henry. On the previous day a pilot had come to us. I jumped up and, drunk with joy, gazed upon the distant scene. I did not again retire, and with the coming dawn I beheld the beloved land toward which our thoughts had so long been directed. The pilot, however, had made a mistake; the land which we saw was not the mainland but Chingateak Island, under the thirty-eighth degree northern latitude, as the captain had maintained it was. With Hog and Smith Islands in sight we sailed toward Cape Henry whose lighthouse came into sight at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon, and at 6:30 of that day a gentle breeze drove us into Chesapeake Bay. At the entrance to the bay we saw the James river. At 7:15 we saw the mouth of the York. During the night we passed the Rappahannock, and then on the 11th the Potomac, the Patuxent, where the customs officer visited our ship, in the afternoon the Severn, where we saw the towers of Annapolis, the capital city of Maryland, and at eight in the evening we entered the Patapsco where the ship cast anchor, two miles out of Baltimore. At 4:30 on the 12th the anchors were again raised, but on account of contrary winds we were obliged to tack and did not arrive in Baltimore till two o'clock in the afternoon, where we anchored outside of the harbor to await the physician and the custom officer. Both these officers arrived soon and found every one in good health, and found no one possessing too much or too little of worldly goods. One passenger had been smuggled on shore in the disguise of a sailor. When the physician went back to shore the custom officer accompanied him and took the two cabin passengers, Adolph and myself with him. At three o'clock we set foot on land again after we had been on the ship for eight weeks.

"If I had known in Kettwig how poorly a ship is provided with food-stuffs, I should not have left my grip behind, but should have filled it in part with provisions, and in part with wearing apparel, for I find that my clothes were much too tightly packed. On the ship I could not think of unpacking and airing the clothes, moreover, our trunks were in the hold of the ship among many other chests. It was impossible to get permission to keep any trunks in the steerage room. When I received my trunks I found them very dirty, all the iron parts were covered with rust, and upon opening I found the shirts that were at the bottom damp and spotted, the bindings of my books white with mould, the collars of my coats, as well as my boots and shoes, mouldy.

"Many a time I wished that I had a pocket full of plums, or a piece of bacon, or something else worth while to eat, and how easily I could have been provided with all such things if I had only been as well informed before I left Kettwig as I now am.

"No question was raised concerning the amount of our baggage nor concerning the size of our trunks. Each one of us might have taken a thousand pounds along, tho the announcement of the ship's agent distinctly says that the chests must not have a content of more than twenty cubic feet. These fellows are carrying on an accursed business. These devils ought to be sentenced to take a trip across the ocean under the same circumstances under which the steerage passengers must travel. I will vouch that they would then not make such glowing promises. During a part of our journey we received very little drinking water. We had to cook our own food. This was sometimes accompanied with great difficulty on account of the violent rocking of the ship. When the breakfast, the dinner or the tea was ready, I, or someone else, called out the names of the passengers, and one of the cooks filled the dishes for them. Sometimes the ship inclined so much that no one could walk without holding on to something. The sea often washed the deck. It was very amusing to see the people holding on to one another and carrying their portion of food before them. Some stepped as gingerly as if they were walking on eggs. Now and then some one fell, or was drenched by the waves and let his food fall, then the most uproarous laughter resounded. We should have had a painter along to immortalize those scenes. They would have made splendid pictures.

"Till the first day of Pentecost we had good weather, tho it was cold in the North Sea. During the night from the first to the second day of Pentecost a violent storm arose. Because of the unusual movement of the ship the bed on which I and three sturdy Wuerttembergers slept collapsed at one o'clock. Startled by the frightful crash, I thought the ship had been stranded. Adolph and his family soon aroused us from our stupor and bewilderment, begging us to get up in order that our boards might not fall on them. The ship's carpenter came immediately and after an hour we were all in bed again. The storm lasted till the afternoon of May the 23rd. During the storm the discontent was very great among the passengers. With the return of calm their joyfulness asserted itself again, however. The privy on our ship was in a dangerous and inconvenient place. It so happened that during the rough sea a person would be wholly drenched. During the 30th and 31st of May the sea was stormy but the sky was clear. On the 2nd of June lice were found on several passengers, and many a quarrel arose as to who was responsible for their being there.

"The beer which Ordemann provided did splendid service, tho we did not have enough of it and so had to be very economical with it. My niece, Mrs. Greef, prepared a delicious soup of flour, bread, raisins or currants for our supper during the first week of our journey, but later she was not permitted to do so any more. On the 6th of June, which was the day of the Kettwig kirmess, the weather was beautiful. So it was also on the 7th, which was my twenty-fifth birthday. In celebrating this event we emptied several bottles. From the 10th to the 15th of June we had a heavy wind, which, blowing favorably for us, hastened our journey very much. On the 14th the storm was so violent that we could not cook at all. On the 17th the sea was calm once more. Till the 20th it was so disagreeably cold that we could not stay on deck at all. Moreover, our graments were almost always drenched. Then it became so warm that it was very uncomfortable. On the 24th scurvy was found among the passengers. Fortunately it did not spread. We were also tormented by fleas. Many of us slept on deck when this was possible. Almost every day quarrels broke out among the passengers, but Adolph and I remained non-partisan. During the entire journey I enjoyed the genuine respect of all the fellow travelers. Often times I appeared in the role of peacemaker. Then I could not refrain from remarking that *'The evils of excess of population' pursued us even to America. On the whole I am very well satisfied with our journey. The weather never was quite so bad that we had to do without fresh air. Persons who are old and who are accustomed to a comfortable mode of living will find traveling even in a cabin disagreeable, and during the first few weeks will indeed be very unhappy.

"As far as the Gulf Stream is concerned, I must say, that it is not as wicked as Duden described it, for during a calm it carried us only very slowly in a northeasterly direction. The eye is entirely unable to distinguish it from the rest of the ocean. Only the difference of temperature and calculations with astronomical instruments can indicate and determine its whereabouts. Our captain was very angry with Duden for expressing such adverse opinions concerning captains on ocean vessels. He made a few marginal notes in my copy of Duden. In these he ridicules Duden's remarks concerning whales, as also the statement that a ship could be driven four hundred miles out of its course by the Gulf Stream. He states that most likely the captain made Duden believe this.

"Now, dear parents, hear how we intend to proceed. To-morrow morning, the 17th of July, I shall go to Pittsburg by way of Chambersburg, for the railroad to Wheeling has been finished only to a short distance beyond Fredericktown.* Adolph has just decided to remain here. This is quite agreeable to me, for traveling with a family of children is very irksome, even tho they are sometimes able to render small services.

"Coming from the ship we sought out an inn. As we entered the landlord said: 'Well, look here. How do you do Mr. Steines?' Accidentally we had come upon Mr. Reuter of Huelsen near Loehdorf, who here has married a widow who owns an inn. He earns much money and we, who stopped with him had to pay him a round sum. But such is the custom everywhere in American inns.

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*Quoted from the introduction to Duden's 'Report."

*This is the railroad of which Duden spoke in his "Report." All the members of the Steines family having read the "Report," it was clear to all what railroad the writer meant.

"Those who come without means fare badly in this country. I have seen a countless number of them, who bitterly cursed their fate. The interior of the country, especially the state of Missouri, is in extremely bad repute. I feel that we have already been too long in the city, and shall be very glad when I reach Cincinnati, where I hope to find employment. May good Providence be my guide and give me friends with whom I can associate. I am not yet discontented, altho all around me there are many dissatisfied faces. The English language is of great service to me. I can get along fairly well, and from several sources I have been assured, that it is worth more than a thousand dollars.

"The length of this letter has induced me to write this time to you alone. From Cincinnati I shall again write to you and also to Fred or to Dellmann. Adolph will also write. He and his family have found a Mr. Stein who immigrated some years ago.

"It would be a crime to recommend emigration to this place at this time. I feel positive, however, that the sad aspect will change when I reach the interior. However, I do not wish to disuade anyone from coming, until I have gathered more data, and have had more experience. Nevertheless, I believe, that if one is well located in his native land, he ought not to leave lightmindedly. Do not take this remark amiss. But emigration from Europe to America means a revolution in one's life. With sweet hopes one pictures the future, then suddenly the dreams vanish and reality presents itself in its crassest form to the dreamer. So it goes with many, and on this account there are thousands and thousands of unfortunates who either perish in wretchedness, or who enjoy a degree of prosperity, such as they left in the old world, only after enduring countless hardships against tremendous odds in the new. Please do not consider this as applicable to myself. No, in the firm trust in God, I shall journey on, and shall pray for His assistance in my endeavors. He is at the present time my only friend.

"Dear parents, please see to it that Fred, Peter and Dellmann and all the others who love me hear about my arrival in this country and greet them for me. The documents I shall send from Cincinnati.

"From Chambersburg I shall go on to Pittsburg in a stage-coach. From there I shall take the steam-boat to Cincinnati.

"Yesterday I climbed the winding stairway, (containing two hundred and twenty-three steps) of the Washington monument made of marble. From here I could overlook the entire city which is laid out on a large scale. The city extends on each side far into the surrounding forests. A part of the city is situated on a height, the greater portion, however, is in a flat lowland.

"A moment ago Adolph came back from town, and since he has decided not to stay here, has brought a teamster along who is to convey us and our belongings to Pittsburg. Several other emigrants will also make the trip, so that he has a load of forty-five hundred weight. He charges $2.12 for hauling a hundred weight. Thus we are relieved of all further expense. I shall therefore not take the stage coach, as I had previously planned, but shall go with Adolph and the rest of the company on foot. The teamster has requested that he be allowed two weeks to make the journey. Adolph requests me to ask you to tell William that he will not send a letter until he had settled somewhere.

"Several of the emigrants have easily found work here, but only at wages varying from four, six to eight dollars, according to the employment they have obtained. But if the high cost of living is taken into consideration, how much is left in the end? A clever workman who knows the secret of saving can lay by something, but this is not done by most of them. A bottle of beer costs six and a fourth cents; a glass of brandy, three cents; a glass of water with sugar and lemon, six cents. I should say that most of the other food-stuffs are three times as high, or even higher, than they are at home. Every meal, whether it be breakfast, dinner or supper costs twenty-five cents.

"If you, my parents, or Fred, or Peter, or Dellmann, or anyone else should really feel a desire to come here, let him consider carefully what I have said above, and see to it that he takes due account of his purse. I should like to see all of you here, but I also know very well that none of you are suffering want where you are. If plenty of money is on hand, and the right determination and willpower accompanies it, then come on. I am told that the enticing accounts of emigrants in Missouri are very much exaggerated. I trust that my own experience in the inland will not lead me astray, and then I shall, if God wills it, write you true reports, which, I trust, may be good reports.

"I do not know whether Adolph will go farther than Pittsburg.

"Goodbye then, till I write you from Cincinnati. If it should be necessary for you to write to me, then send your letters under my address in care of Mr. Karthaus, Merchant, South Gay Street, Baltimore.

"In politics a great lull seems to obtain here at the present time.

"July 17, 1833.

"I hasten to conclude this letter in order to give it to our captain who will depart again in a few days. We shall leave at once, for our wagon is already loaded. Yesterday evening I had a talk with an American who is acquainted in Cincinnati. He also knows Mr. Whithnall, who is said to be a rich and very highly respected gentleman. My new acquaintance does not doubt in the least but what I shall get along very well there.

"Accept greetings from your loving son,

HERMANN."

"To Dellmann:

The English dialect in America is the same as in England, as I am assured here. The local book stores do not have any work on this point.

"Reuter, our landlord, requests Fred to send him or to bring some musical compositions.

H."

FROM HERMANN STEINES'S DIARY ON HIS WAY FROM BALTIMORE TO PITTSBURG.

"July 19, 1833. Today we came thru Littletown, forty-two miles from Baltimore, a town corresponding to its name; then thru Gettysburg, fifty-two miles from Baltimore, a pretty little city with a university and a theological seminary. Today we halted for the night fifty-four miles from Baltimore.

"July 20. Today we traveled seventeen miles. It was very warm. In the evening Mrs. Niederhuebner gave birth to a son in the inn-keeper's barn. Had a violent thunderstorm to-day. Crossed the southern mountain chain.

"July 21. This morning I went ahead of the wagons, and after walking six miles I reached Chambersburg. Upon inquiry I soon found Mr. Scheibler. He invited me to stay until the next day, which I did, and spent a very pleasant day in conversation. Kremer from Kettwig lives in Williamsport, where he is said to be doing well.—United Brethren.—Prison.—Papermill where paper is made of straw.

"July 22. At half past seven I started on my way toward St. Thomas, which is at the foot of the northern mountains. Scheibler accompanied me for more than an hour. I arrived at St. Thomas at half past ten. It is seven miles from Chambersburg. Three miles farther, at the foot of the northern mountains is Lowdentown. Here I crossed the mountains, and nine miles farther in the valley I came to McConnelsburg. — Pitiful aspect of the mountain forest. — Poor soil so far. — Thunder and lightning. — Met a gentleman from Wisbaden, who was very much discontended. — Rabble in America. — In the mountains I overtook the wagon which I had allowed to precede me in Chambersburg. — The teamster's method of driving. — Strowbridge mountains. — Scrubridge.

"July 23. From McConnelsburg to Licking Creek, seven miles. — If I speak English with the Americans the usual question is: 'How long have you been in America, or in this country?' And when I answer: 'Since the twelfth of this month,' they are astonished and ask further: 'Where did you learn English?' And when I tell them: 'In Germany,' then they are very much astonished that one is able to learn English in Germany. — Very mountainous. — Slow journey. — Poor, sterile region. — To-day I crossed Sidling's hill. — The wagon with the other passengers stayed behind two miles, while I found lodging on the summit of the mountain, twelve miles from McConnelsburg. — Barroon. — Barkeeper. — Reception of the baggage. — Very hot and dry.

"July 24. After crossing Raise hill to-day we came into the valley of the Junietta creek. This valley is very romantic and has much in common with Wupper valley near Elberfeld and Sonnborn. Seventeen miles on this side of McConnelsburg we came to a covered bridge which is not yet quite completed. We are camping in this bridge which is near the village of Bloodyrun. — Found many botanical specimen.

"July 25. Eight miles from Bloodyrun we crossed the Junietta valley and came to the city of Bedford, one hundred and forty miles from Baltimore and one hundred from Pittsburg. Here we left the valley and four miles farther on we came to the dividing of the road, one branch going to Wheeling and the other to Pittsburg. After five more miles we came to Schellsburg. — This was a very rainy day. — Hospital fees.

"July 26. To-day we crossed the Alleghany Mountains. They begin one mile on this side of Schellsburg. For two miles they represent very high hills, then for five miles we were amid the real Alleghanies. Three miles from their summit I spent the night in a hotel called George Washington, President of the United States. Here I found a piano. This was the first opportunity after a long journey to eidfy myself by playing this instrument. — The language of

German Americans and pure German. — Abundance of flowers in the Alleghanies. — Cholera in the United States. — Newspapers. — Seventy-six miles from Pittsburg.

"July 27. Over the summit of the Alleghanies — a hilly plateau — four miles, then five miles more of broken country to Stoystown, which lies at the foot of Laurel Hill. This I ascended for two miles and spent the night. — Fifty-seven miles from Pittsburg.

"July 28. After a march of three miles we were on the summit of Laurel Hill. Seven miles farther on we came to Legenier and from there thru the extremely lonely valley of the Loyalannah Creek seven or eight miles to the village of Youngstown, where we spent the night. — Ten miles from Greensburg.

"July 29. About noon we were in Greenburg, a pretty little town, where we took dinner which was served in fairly good German style. Three mills farther we reached Grapeville and after two more miles we came to Adamsburg where we spent the night.

"July 30. To-day I completed the journey to Pittsburg after a day's march of twenty-five miles. Four miles from Adamsburg I reached Jacksonville, two miles farther Stewartsville, seven miles from there I came into the pretty valley of the Turtle creek, where I saw hard coal, six or seven miles farther came Wilkinsburg, after two more miles, East Liberty, and three miles farther, Pittsburg, which is situated in the valley. So I have at last finished my journey on land and now the Ohio will soon carry me to that region, the name of which is on the lips of so many oppressed Germans. — I secured lodging with a German, Mr. August Fuchs, First and Front Street, South of Market Street. Here I met the families of Knecht and of Dings and young Hammerstein and Glaser, who had left Soligen in March and had made the journey here via New York, Albany and Erie. They were staying here to await the subsiding of the cholera epidemic in the western states. Now they have decided to undertake, at least a part of the journey to the state of Missouri.

"July 31. At last the wagon containing our possessions arrived this afternoon."

LETTER OF HERMANN STEINES.

"St. Louis, Missouri,
November 8, 1833.

"My dear Parents, Brothers and Sisters, and Friends:

"Doubtless you will think, after reading the salutation, that this will be a long letter, and I am really concerned about satisfying your various expectations, because some of you will expect me to write favorably and others unfavorably concerning oft-discussed subjects. Upon serious thought you must all see that it is not becoming in me, at the present time, to express an opinion of any kind concerning these matters. I can only tell what I have seen and heard, and what I have personally experienced. Whether or not the life of the settler in the great North American forests is really as beautiful as Duden has described it, or whether I should advise for or against emigration you must not expect me to say in this letter. My residence here has been too short to give advice, my acquaintance with the life of the farmer too limited, and my judgment, perhaps, somewhat prejudiced. I trust that you have received my letter which was written in Baltimore, and which was sent to Germany by Captain Laun. At that time I was very much discontented on account of the great number of unfortunate persons which I saw on every hand. Their number is indeed very great in the sea-ports: Disappointed speculators, adventurers, impoverished persons, and other unfortunates, who, as you may well imagine, attribute their misfortune to the country they are now in.

"But first let me tell you something about my journey. After five days in Baltimore Adolph and his family, together with several other Germans and myself departed for Pittsburg. On the 30th of July we reached Pittsburg. On account of the low stand of the water, river navigation was suspended, except for a few small boats which made irregular trips. Cousin Adolph rented a room with a German inn-keeper, August Fuchs, a Saxonian, and I also took board and lodging in the same house. Here we found Peter and Daniel Knecht from Wippe, Dings, Hammerstein and Glaser. On the 11th of August a small steam-boat, the 'Alleghenia,' departed from Pittsburg. Adolph and the rest decided to wait for higher water, but Daniel Knecht and I departed on the boat. On August 25th we arrived in Cincinnati. My goal had now been reached. We rented two rooms from W., and I began to look for employment. My letters of introduction did not help me at all. W. is not the man that he is reported to be in our country. He is a carpet weaver and obliged thus to earn his living. His adjoining building is a wretched tenement for poor people. He speaks in ugly terms about his brother, who surely ought not to come here, if he relies upon his rich (?) brother in Cincinnati.

"I have delivered the letter to A. Herder. In his shop he is offering wares from Solingen for sale. He is not doing a good business. In order to make money in that sort of enterprise, it is necessary to have the greatest possible variety of goods, to advertise freely, and not become discouraged if the returns are at first not great. Much of the goods from Solingen is entirely out of fashion here. Emigrants undertake a great risk if they bring a stock of goods and rely on a speculator's chance of disposing of them. Knecht and Dings have learned this lesson. If the goods are really first-class they will find purchasers, but even then the profit is small. Knecht could not dispose of his goods at all, either in Pittsburg or in Cincinnati, and here in St. Louis he has sold them at a slight profit. Nothing is lost in the handling of goods that are/actually in fashion here, but even then it is not worth the trouble.

"Duden has written truthfully about this matter on p. 338, as he has told the truth in general, even tho his descriptions are sometimes too picturesque. If only prospective emigrants would follow strictly the directions and advice which he gives in his book!

"Mr. W's brother lives in Woodburn near Dayton, sixty miles from Cincinnati. I called on him but did not find him at home. His wife read the letter and regretted very much that her husband was not at home. So I had failed to find my luck in this house also. I went back and visited Doctor von Aschen at Miamisburg, where I spent the night. Dr. von A. owns a farm and lives very contentedly but not elegantly. On account of personal illness he is not able to attend to his estate as he ought to. His younger brother, who did not do well here, is on his way back to Bremen.

"After I returned to Cincinnati I began seriously to look for employment. Manufacturing plants for chemicals are found only on the Atlantic coast, and as there are no apothecaries here either, I was obliged to apply to druggists for a position. Only one druggist was inclined to give me employment, and he stated that could give me only board and lodging for my work. This was too niggardly for me. Since neither Kencht nor myself could make headway in Cincinnati, we left on the 11th of September on the steam-boat "Banner" for St. Louis, where we arrived on the 29th of the same month. Here I repeated my endeavors and was lucky enough to find employment. Yesterday I closed a formal contract with Dr. Craft, my new employer. I have agreed to stay with him till the 31st of December, 1834, and at that time I shall receive $100.00 in cash (in Spanish money), twenty dollars worth of books, in addition to my board, lodging and washing. On my part I am obliged to prepare medicines and to assist in his medical practice. This will be of great benefit to me. I shall now learn the secret and methods of American physicians and American medicines. At the conclusion of my contract I shall undertake the practice of medicine myself, and hope then to be able to live better than a common apothecary. Even now I am better paid than I was in Elberfeld, or for that matter, any where else, and I lead a free and comfortable life. On Sundays the American physician practices only in cases of emergency, and even during the week they do not overwork. In the morning, before 8:30, and in the evening, after 6:30 I pursue my own studies. Thus you see I am wanting in nothing, and I live as happily as I possibly could in Germany. Only the thought of the great distance between me and my dear ones makes me wish that I were back in Meurs or in Elberfeld. I live well here, enjoy the respect of the members of the household, and have intercourse with cultured people. I am making rapid progress in the use of the English language, and shall soon be able to get along very well. My study of English while yet in Germany has given me an inestimable advantage. Without this start I might, perhaps, not have found employment at all.

"On the 6th of October Adolph, the brothers Kochs, and Meyer from Remscheid arrived here. I had met the two Kochs in Cincinnati by accident. They spoke to me on the street and told me that they had been there for more than four weeks. Now they are boarding and lodging with Adolph. In addition to those mentioned above the following are here: Wentz from Solingen, who has been ill a long time, and is now in the act of moving to a farm which is ten miles from Duden's place; Gottschalk from Borkhaus, who has just recovered from a serious attack of billious fever; Wirtz from Remscheid, Halbach from Loehdorf, A. Knecht who works in the arsenal, the young Engels with their widowed mother from Stoecken near Schrodtberg who also work in the arsenal, Becker (Luengen's brother-in-law) and Becker (Deus' cousin). Dings, Peter, Knecht, Hammerstein and Glaser are expected to arrive any day from Pittsburg. I am not able to write you concerning the affairs of these people in detail. So much for this time—some are doing well while others are very wretched. He who has no good trade or business, and no money to make the necessary purchases has every reason to be downhearted.

"The profession of furniture makers and of joiners is at present very lucrative, as is also the work of the shoemaker and of the tailor. Bakers, saddlers, tanners, brewers and many others are unable to find work. It is unwise to put one's reliance wholly upon any profession. Each artisan ought to have a small reserve of money, or should locate in such a manner that he can carry on agriculture on the side. In the eastern cities and all along the river and canal highways countless German artisans are found seeking work. Occasionally even a German scholar is seen engaged in the humblest sort of labor. There is no exaggeration in what I am telling you. Those who rely entirely upon a single profession must take things as they come. Frequently the kind of work desired is found and the participant fares well. No one is likely to perish, but the rough work of the unskilled laborer is not agreeable to all. Sometimes the grave mistake is made by immigrants to engage in business enterprises before they have mastered the language of the country. Such endeavors frequently end disastrously. In the last analysis, Agriculture is the only safe basis upon which an immigrant can build his hopes. The fact that here and there an individual has succeeded in business or in professional enterprises by no means justifies others in predicting a like success for themselves. Circumstances, conditions of health, and like factors play too prominent a role in such matters. If Duden were only more carefully read and followed fewer people would speak disparagingly of him. It is usually those who have not heeded his advice who come to grief here. It is true that Duden has written rather picturesquely, but that must be attributed to his temperament and to his manner of looking at things. I am not familiar with all the phases of farm life, but so far as I do know it I hardly think that it would arouse reveries in me. Their life is very simple, and most of them, the new settlers especially, lack those things that beautify their homes and make them comfortable. Of food and drink they have an abundance. Their dwellings usually consist of only one room in which they live, cook, eat and sleep. What I have just said pertains to the poorer settlers. The wealthier, of course, live better, and sometimes boast of very handsome country homes.

"Another point to be considered is that the Germans in this country are not held together by social bonds. Thruout the whole of North America they live scattered like the Jews in Europe. In the large cities along the Atlantic as also in the state of Ohio, German churches and schools are found, but they are usually in poor condition. English has taken a firm root in this country and is an absolute necessity for every immigrant. Only those who are thoroly Anglicised in customs and speech can feel at home here. As long, therefore, as Duden's plan (pp. 324 and 325)* of settling in large companies, under common, competent guidance, of establishing cities, of preserving German speech and German customs, as long as this plan is not carried into execution, so long can the German not feel happy on American soil, even tho he lived in affluence. As long as conditions have not come to the state of affairs in Europe, of which Duden speaks on page 328, namely that the citizens of Germany have to break up their homes in order to escape total ruin, so long it is far better that they remain in their old environment, which is, after all, quite bearable, or that they wait, at least, till a company of wealthy persons can be formed, which by settling as a unit, can pursue their ideal ends in this new country. It is my candid conviction that all persons who cannot with absolute assurance count upon a definite amount of available capital, after their traveling expenses have been met, a capital, which Duden on page 237 places at 1,000 Thaler, or $666.66, should positively desist from entertaining thoughts of emigration. The above quoted sum is the very lowest amount with which one can comfortably establish himself. One who has enjoyed the comforts of a German home will find difficulty in adjusting himself to the humble circumstances in which the needy classes of settlers live here. When I speak of 'needy classes' I do not mean those lacking in food, for there is enough to eat and drink, but I mean those who have to do without the comforts of a well established home. Almost all our countrymen who are in St. Louis at present have spent their money. Whether they become happy or unhappy depends solely upon circumstances. Those whose line of work is in demand will prosper. This is the case of cousin Adolph. Really he belongs to the class which ought not to be encouraged to come here. After he arrived here his earnings were all spent. Fortunately he found work at once, and now earns from $1.25 to $3.00 per day, since he is working by the piece. But it must be remembered that one cannot buy as much for $2.00 in St. Louis as one can buy for $1.00 in Solingen or any other German city. Almost all necessities are twice as high here as abroad. Meat and vegetables are in some instances cheaper here, or at least as cheap as at home. But even at that they are able to save something. Adolph's daughter Ida works at the house where I am staying and earns five dollars a month, while his son William is an apprentice to a furniture maker. He is obliged to work four years for this man, and receives an annual wage of $30.00 and has an allowance of $1.50 per week for board and lodging which he has with his own parents. During half the year his master sends the boy to school, part of the time to the day school and part time to the night school. In case of sickness he receives free medical attention and at the end of his apprenticeship he will get a number of tools. You will say, 'That does very well,' and so it does, but what if Adolph should become sick or should meet with some other accident or misfortune? This very week there were two German women here begging. Their husbands are sick and there is want everywhere. I repeat, that I wish to discourage every artisan from coming here, unless he is supplied with sufficient money to buy land. Now, if it is ill-advised for a poor artisan to come here, how much more ill-advised is it for a scholar, who has no money, and who does not desire to take up agriculture? Let no one think either that he could become a schoolmaster or preacher here. The newspapers frequently contain the advertisements of such persons, but only rarely do they find employment, and if they are employed their work is not as well paid as in their native country. A young single man is not so much to be pitied, because he can fight his way thru for some time, but if the disappointed person happens to be the father of a family, then it is hard indeed. I repeat that $666.00 is the absolute minimum with which one should attempt to make a start here. In my opinion two thousand Thaler is not too much. With this amount a handsome estate can be procured and everything can be established in first-class order. If the settler intends to purchase one or two slaves he needs to add another thousand Thaler. A settler thus established, if he is sound in body and has happy family relations, and finds pleasure in farm labor, I will grant, has found heaven on earth. Here no officer torments him, no ruler demands his children, no state taxes oppress him. I have seen country homes in Ohio and in Pennsylvania as well as here, in which the inhabitants lived a paradisaic life. If, on the other hand, one of the above named conditions is lacking such a paradise could easily be changed into a hell. (Compare Duden, page 298.) What Duden says on page 296 is well to be heeded. Oh, if you could suddenly become Americans in custom, in speech and in viewpoint, and could live happliy and contented in the oak groves of the Missouri valley! But I will not say any more on this subject. Duden has said much on this point. Read him carefully, and take nothing lightly. Eliminate also some of the picturesqueness here and there from his account, and you will have the plain truth.

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*The reference to Duden's "Report" apply to the edition of this work published at Elberfelt in 1829.

"At the outset I said that I would not say anything for or against coming here. If you should be able to find a second Germany here, as the Britain finds a second Britany, then much of the concern would be removed. This, however, is not the case, and I may safely assert, that on this account most of the German immigrants, and especially the educated part of their number never will feel perfectly satisfied, even if they should live in affluence and under the happiest conditions. The German spirit is wanting here. Of course, we have no cause for complaint because of our association with the Americans, I least of all. But the cordiality, or—, words cannot convey the idea, a certain undefinable something is wanting here. Surely I should like to see you here with me, even if we were in the dense forest, lonely and concealed, but I want to see you happy, with rosy cheeks and bright eyes, and not, as is frequently the case here, with downcast, gloomy eyes. It is not enough to own a farm of eighty or more acres with all the necessary equipment, in order to live happily. Those who bear the germ of dissatisfaction in their breast will certainly bring misfortune along, and amid the unavoidable hardships of the journey and of the new settlement will feel this discontent augmented in a high degree. I regard it my duty to call your attention thus plainly to these things, for you are hardly in a position to evaluate conditions here accurately, since you are still living in the sweet anticipation of all the beautiful things which your imagination has pictured, and while, on the other hand, you still have all those unpleasant things about you, which your local situation bring about. How often I have heard people say: 'If Germany were only politically and economically constituted like the United States, what a paradise Germany would be compared with America!' This is not said to deter you in your plans, or to depreciate America. No, you will and must believe me, that I would welcome your coming here, and that I am far from being dissatisfied. Neither do I mean to say that the evils enumerated above would stand in your way to happiness and success. But my one wish is to see you happy and successful, and I am convinced, that compared with others, you live happily where you are, and for this reason I feel it my duty to call your attention to what is really at stake.

"If you have considered matters well, and if you are prepared to endure all sorts of hardships, and if you have the honest conviction that you emigrate more for the sake of your children than for yourself, then you may undertake the journey boldly and fearlessly, and your children will in time be grateful to you, even tho you yourself may have but little pleasure. But if you come, you must make up your mind that agriculture will be your future occupation. The European dream of an educational institution for American Germans would vanish like every other dream. On this account I must advise you, Dellmann, not to come, for I know that you find more pleasure in differential and integral calculus than in agriculture. If Duden's plan could be realized, so that a second Germany could arise here, then, of course, it would be a different matter. If one of you would be sure to make a success here, it is you, uncle Lehberg. If you and your family were here, blessed with your usual good health, and had a thousand Prussian Thaler at your disposal, you would undoubtedly life more happily than you do in Unterlehberg.

"No one needs to expect to get rich here. The farmers live too far from the large cities. All their surplus produce are bought by hucksters who scour the country and usually buy cheaply. At the stores the farmers usually trade in their natural products for wares. In other words trade by barter obtains here. The American farmer has very little cash money, but even then he lives very happily. The greatest profit is to be expected from extensive live-stock raising. The immigrating German must not be carried away by the dream of acquiring great riches.

"F. Kochs and Meyer from Remscheid have been in Duden's country. They have confirmed everything that Duden has said about it. Duden and Eversmann are said to be disliked by many. Many Germans have settled in that region, among them are many of the nobility. The brothers von Spankeren from Wald live there. Duden's farm has not been tilled since 1830, and has therefore become perfectly wild again.

"In St. Louis I have found many dance halls and billiard halls.

"I have had a very hard journey. I have made it in the cheapest possible manner. An intensity of heat such as I have never experienced before—30° to 32° Reaumur, bedbugs, mosquitoes, and many other things have made the journey a very hard one. It will be impossible for you to travel in the manner that I did. Until now I have used 120 Berlin Thaler, and I have lived most economically. You may make your own calculations on the basis of these figures. If you come, come by way of New Orleans, even tho the seajourney should cost a little more than to Baltimore or New York. In the interior of North America everything is very expensive for travelers. You will see at once that the trip via New Orleans is less expensive in the long run, and less difficult. The loading and unloading of the boxes and trunks, the shallow water of the Ohio, the very toilsome journey by land, the fact that the steamboats are so easily stranded on sand-bars, and many other inconveniences prove that the route via New Orleans is not only much more convenient, but I believe also cheaper. But if you choose the New Orleans route you must NOT come in the summer.

"The Mississippi is a little wider than the Rhine but not as deep. The ferry charges are 12½ cents per individual. — During the month of October we had a number of night frosts, but now the weather is mild and beautiful. — Cholera has raged in all parts of America. We have gone thru highly infected regions. — The women here are very lazy. They nearly always sit in rocking chairs. — It is rumored that land is to be reduced to fifty or seventy-five cents an acre. — If one travels second-class on a steamboat, he ought, by all means to pay in advance the amount which will exempt him from the burden of carrying fire-wood. I have suffered very much under this task.* — Pittsburg is a flourishing manufacturing city. The market there is the cheapest of the cities I have visited. Coal costs hardly anything. — Consider what I have said in regard to the season in which you ought to make the trip. You know how I fared during the four weeks from Pittsburg here. Go by way of New Orleans for by that route you can bring all the things you need direct from Europe. See Duden, page 333. Everything is terribly dear here. — Reuter in Baltimore has treated Adolph and me like a cut-purse. Warn others! — On September 5, P. Kuerten and family of Neuenhaus arrived at Cincinnati, and they are still there, on account of sickness. The men have been obliged to seek work on the canal. They hope to come here soon.

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*In the early days of steam-boating on our American rivers the practice obtained to let second-class passengers work out part of their fare by having them carry cordwood, which was then used instead of coal, from the river's bank on board the boat. It is this work Mr. Steines refers to above.

"Duden has written enough about everything, so that my letter seems superfluous indeed. Read Duden carefully for he has not written in vain. If you are really in earnest and intend to spend your remaining years in peace, then, brave the hardships of the journey and come here. Here it is quiet enough, and the farmer, when he has once established himself, has a very comfortable living.

"Now a few words to you, my mother and my sisters, in order that you not become intimidated by my letter, for I did not intend to do that. If you feel strong enough in body to endure the hardships of the journey, and buoyant enough in spirit to participate in the attempt of realizing the fond dream of your men folks, then we shall all be happy and greatly benefitted. The older members of our family will not be materially benefited by coming here, but your interest in your children must be the deciding factor if you take this step. You women must have a clear understanding with your men.

"I cannot refrain from giving the following advice: a) Germans who are accustomed to work hard and whose mode of living makes but few demands upon luxuries should not come to St. Louis with less than $1,000.00 in cash; b) those accustomed to comforts and to beauty in the household should not come with less than $2,000.00; c) those who wish to keep slaves should not come with less than $3,000.00, and even more. On the other hand too great an amount of wealth is by no means to be recommended, for very rich persons, accustomed to many servants, usually become very unhappy here. The least semblance of aristocratic vanity is severely ridiculed here.

"If you should come, you must be prepared not to meet with the same consideration which you are accustomed to over there. People will pass you by coldly, for you will be among strangers. When you have finally settled on your own homestead, you must not pretend to have any special claim upon the world, but by uprightness of action you must acquire the respect of those around you, in which respect alone you can be happy, and then in the narrow circle of your families, and in the solitude and beauty of nature you must endeavor to find the wished-for happiness.

"Wirtz who came from Remscheid has gone to his farm. Halbach works at the arsenal. Bedkers, Deus' cousin, works at the carpenter trade, and another one of the Beckers, Leungen's brother-in-law, lives on the other side of the river, in the state of Illinois, where he has established a glue factory and a buckskin-tannery. Melchers stayed in Baltimore, and Beunger was seen in Pittsburg.

"No one gets along so well in this country as he who is able to do things with his own hands. For this reason do not fail to bring Uncle Lehberg with you when you come. I imagine he has earned enough at his loom to pay for his fare. Have him bring his loom with him, for if he uses his head as well as his hands here he will not lack bread. Do not sell your belongings for a trifle, await your time, for it does not pay to hasten too much.

"When I have served my time under my present employer, I may go to the country, especially if you should write me that you are coming. By the end of May, 1834, I expect a letter from you, in which you must tell me whether you intend to come the following winter or not. If you do come I do not intend to enter into a new agreement with my present employer. I am sorry enough now that I have agreed to work here till December 31, 1834. I was really forced to do so, for Dr. Craft wished it that way, and where else was I to go? I am sorry that I got into this sort of business, tho I did get into it by accident. The doctor is an empiric, or in common terms a quack, such a one as are found in great number among the American physicians. I was introduced to him by a good friend. The doctor asked me a few questions, as for instance, whether I could make pills for purifying the blood, and also if I could make wonder balsam and healing balsam. These articles are imported from Vienna. I resolved at that moment to take advantage of the stupidity of the physician in order to pull myself out of a pinch, and answered: 'Of course!' Thereupon he asked me to move in, and said that after a few weeks of probation we should come to some agreement. I have made a large quantity of pills for him, and mixed a lot of balsam, without really knowing the exact ingredients. I must have done my work well, for he engaged me, as you know, on November 7. I strongly urge all apothecary helpers not to emigrate. I have visited all the druggists without success, and if I had not found this subterfuge, I should still be without work.

"I think, you, Dellmann and Christine, as also the rest of you will understand why I have advised Dellmann not to come here. It would mean ruin to his career as teacher. I cannot understand how all of us could have been so thoughtless in October, 1832, as to try to send him here. If after we have settled something should open up for him, then it is time enough for him to come. In the meantime his prospects are too bright, and the view from his own window is too pretty to make the change. Here one sees nothing but woods, very, very dense woods. If one earns money the new conditions do not make much difference, but if one does not prosper, discontent easily asserts itself.

"I think that you now have an account of America such as no one else has ever written you. The letters from America are usually too onesided. As a rule it is well to be incredulous about superficially written letters and pamphlets.

"Without doubt it is well to be here in America, but only under certain conditions. Even under the most favorable conditions the immigrant will sorely miss his home surroundings, so long accustomed to in his fatherland. If he settles by himself he will be lonely, even if he is an educated man. Even among German-Americans he will not feel wholly comfortable unless he can speak the English language. If it were possible, as Duden has suggested, to establish a German state here, then the spirit of things German could be made to flourish, and the Americans would learn to understand that the Germans also belong to the educated and cultured people of Europe. In such an environment the settler would feel more comfortable, for he would then live in a second Germany, so to speak.

"Today is the thirteenth of November and perhaps you may get this letter at the beginning of January, in which case I wish you a Happy New Year.

"Countless greetings to my relatives.

HERMANN."

Note:—These diaries and letters of Steines, *et al.*, will be continued in the January *Review.* In them is revealed the Americanizing of the immigrant. A change of viewpoint takes place. He is proud of being "a free citizen of the United States of North America." In inviting his parents to join him, Steines writes: "There will be inconveniences for all of us to face, but if you wish to see our whole family living in the same country, a country where freedom of speech obtains, where no spies are evesdropping, where no wretched simpletons criticise your every word and seek to detect therein a venom that might endanger the life of the state, the church, and the home, in short, if you wish to be really happy and independent—then come here and become farmers in the United States. Here you will find a class of beings that think sensibly, and that still respect the man in man. Oppressive military systems and exorbitant taxation are foreign to this country. Nature has blessed this land abundantly. Here one fully enjoys what one earns, here no despots are to be feared, here the law is respected, and honest citizens do not tolerate the least infringement or interference by human authority."—The Editor.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF MEDICINE IN MISSOURI.

BY DR. H. W. LOEB, ST. LOUIS. MO.

An Address delivered at the Missouri Centennial Celebration held at Columbia, Missouri, January 8, 1918.

A theme as complex as this cannot be approached except with a feeling of diffidence, and yet it is so worthy and so inspiring that no member of the profession can decline such an opportunity to glorify the hundred years work of medicine in Missouri. Medicine is an exacting task-mistress who is content with no less than a life devotion. And rightly so, for she has collected together the sciences of Chemistry, Physics, Anatomy, and Physiology for her own beneficent purposes. Compare medicine in this regard with that maleficient combination of sciences which during these hundred years have increased and multiplied beyond the wildest stretch of the imagination the means of death and destruction, by utilizing the exactness of mathematics, the certainty of physics, and the inexorableness of chemistry. Harnessed to the chariot of Mars, these sciences are as furies fraught with woe to the world, but when Hygeia holds the reins, they bring comfort and health to afflicted humanity.

To save and to help have been the battle cry of medicine in all generations, and this has been handed down from time immemorial. In this view, I could, of course, describe the medicine of the last hundred years by pointing to the profession as it is today and say "This is its work and must therefore reflect its character," but if I should attempt to analyze the picture, I fear I could only give you fragments which would tax your own discrimination and judgment to harmonize.

Perhaps it will be best to put a few of the great figures upon the screen, as it were, to show some of the activities for which they were held in high regard and to attempt to join these together to make a story more or less fitting to the occasion.

The first physicians of Missouri were, as a rule, men of good education for their times, men who would have graced the profession in the older countries of the world, but the spirit of adventure and the love of the open places made them pioneers in a new land.

The one outstanding medical man of a hundred years ago was Bernard G. Farrar, scholar, statesman, pioneer, soldier and, above all, man of medicine. He was a potent element in the community from the time he came to the state in 1806, when twenty-one years of age, until he fell a victim of the cholera epidemic in 1849. In 1818, he was at the height of his reputation and was known far and wide for his surgical skill. He was a worthy successor of that other great pioneer, Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain, who died in 1820.

Contemporaneous with him was William Carr Lane, first Mayor of St. Louis and for nine times elected to that office, a man of extensive acquaintance and of great personal as well as political influence.

In 1835, an army surgeon named Wm. Beaumont was ordered to Jefferson Barracks and from that time on became a resident of this state, an honored citizen who left the army rather than remove from the place that he had chosen for his home. He had already written the wonderful account of his experiments upon Alexis St. Martin and his reputation as a scientist had therefore preceded him. It is doubtful, however, if his associates ever fully appreciated what he had done for physiology and medicine. It was left for Sir Wm. Osler and our own lamented Jesse S. Myer to give him the place for which he so modestly worked. He passed away in 1853, beloved by all who knew him.

One of the most interesting men of the time was one John Sappington, who came to Saline county, Missouri, from Tennessee about 1820. He took up the cudgels against the practice of bloodletting and calomel dosage for fevers and advocated the use of Peruvian bark or quinine for the cure of all fevers which he claimed belonged to one class. When quite an old man he wrote a book on *The Theory and Treat-*

ment of Fevers, published in Arrow Rock, Missouri, which even today excites a great deal of interest. His text is preceded by numerous testimonials from citizens of Saline, Cooper, and Howard county, Missouri, and from Tennessee, Alabama, and other states accounting the value of his treatment and recommending it most highly. Inasmuch as he claims to have sold a million boxes of his pills, one might consider him, in the light of modern day practice, unprofessional. But we have the assurance of Dr. Gregory who knew him, that he was fully accepted by the profession. Indeed, there is no attempt made in his book to deceive, but every effort to oppose the views of Currie and Rush by giving the light of day to his own facts and theories.

The decade beginning 1840 was destined to become an important period in the development of the medical profession of Missouri and of St. Louis in particular for the tide of emigration brought into the state such men as McDowell, Pope, J. B. Johnson, Linton, Pollak, Pallen, Gregory, McPheeters, Brainard, Jno. S. Moore, Boisliniere, Hodgen, Curtman, and Litton, men whose memory still bears witness to the important place they occupied not only in Missouri medicine but quite as much in the annals of the profession in America.

Even to this day we cannot speak of McDowell without corresponding mention of Pope. They were natural leaders of men, both surgeons of wide attainments and they became great protagonists, each with his devoted followers breaking the profession up into two hostile camps with all the bitterness and acrimony that could be engendered in a small city such as St. Louis was at the time.

Joseph Nash McDowell, nephew of Ephraim McDowell, who performed the first ovariotomy, was born in 1805. He was trained in medicine by his brother-in-law Dr. Daniel Drake and Samuel D. Gross, who then resided in Cincinnati, and upon coming to St. Louis, fresh from his teaching experiences in the Medical College at Cincinnati, he established the first medical college in the state, which was then known as the Kemper Medical College. He continued in the direction of the Missouri Medical College which succeeded this institution until he espoused the cause of the Confederacy at the beginning of the war.

Charles Alexander Pope, born in 1818, was also a student of Daniel Drake but he received his degree from the University of Pennsylvania and then spent two years in post-graduate study in Paris. On coming to St. Louis in 1842, he became identified as professor of anatomy, with the Medical Department of St. Louis University which was established in 1842. It did not take him long to become dominant in the school and this dominance continued until the end of the Civil War in 1865.

Daniel Brainerd who was one of the original faculty of the Medical School, founded by St. Louis University, was not long a resident of Missouri. In 1843 he removed to Chicago where he established the Rush Medical College at the end of the year.

John T. Hodgen perhaps occupies a higher national position than any Missouri physician during the past hundred years. From the time he entered the profession in 1848 until his death in 1882, his life was one of continually advancing usefulness. He became Surgeon-General of the Missouri forces during the war and thus laid the foundation for much of the riper surgery of his later years. His great device, the Hodgen splint, born of his experience in the Civil War, is still justifying its great value in the present war.

M. L. Linton (1806-1872), who was of great influence as a teacher, was the author of a book on the *Outlines of Pathology* and established the *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*, the first medical journal in the state, in 1843.

Louis Charles Boisliniere, born in 1816 and died in 1896, one of the foremost obstetricians of this country, is still remembered for his kindly spirit, his lovable attention and help to young men entering the profession, and for his wonderful ability as a teacher.

Simon Pollak, who even in his advanced age was always on the side of the progressive in medicine, founded the first medical clinic in the state and in 1861 established the first Eye and Ear Clinic west of the Mississippi.

There are many more great men of these and later times that are deserving of mention: Abram Litton who for a half century was a teacher of chemistry; E. H. Gregory, the kindly old man who almost as long was a teacher of surgery; J. W. Jackson, who established the first railroad hospital in America; W. B. Outten, who developed what might be called the profession of railway surgery; J. W. Wood and I. N. Ridge, pioneers of Kansas City; W. H. Duncan, who found time in spite of his large country practice to act for so many years as treasurer of the University of Missouri; Charles O. Curtmann, professor of chemistry; Henry H. Mudd, surgeon and teacher of note; O. P. Lankford, the successor of McDowell; Adam Hammer, talented but erratic; G. M. B. Maughs, at one time Mayor of Kansas City, a practitioner of note in both St. Louis and Kansas City; Thos. F. Rumbold, said to have been the first rhinologist in America; G. A. Moses, father and son, both well and favorably known; the erudite E. W. Shauffler; the pioneer ophthalmologist, John Green; the courteous and talented C. E. Michel; A. C. Bernays, brilliant surgeon untrammeled by convention; the handsome J. B. Johnson, of whom it was said that he never willingly accepted a fee; P. G. Robinson, who hailed South Carolina as his birthplace but whose French descent was in every move and gesture; Walter Wyman, who as surgeon-general was responsible for much of the efficiency of the Public Health Service; Gustav Baumgarten, one of the first practitioners of the state to achieve modern scientific medicine; J. K. Bauduy, whose command of language was the wonder of his friends; Walter B. Dorsett, achieving a high position in a too short life; Wm. G. Moore, whose words came as from lips of honey; Jesse S. Myer, the most promising young man in the profession; Joseph C. Mulhall, easily the foremost laryngologist of his time in this portion of America; Frank J. Lutz, always in the forefront of medical organization; James Pleasant Parker, who virtually gave up his life to establish the *Annals of Ophthalmology and Othology;* C. H. Hughes, the debonnaire; A. V. L. Vrokaw, pioneer in radiography; and W. E. Fischel, I. N. Love, G. C. Crandall, J. P. Bryson, Hugo Summa, A. B. Sloan, J. E. Tefft, J. W. Trader, L. Bremer, W. P. King, T. F. Prewitt, John M. Richmond and a host of others whose names have adorned the profession of Missouri.

I might continue this catalogue of medical men who have brought credit to their profession during the past one hundred years, in fact I am sure that many have been omitted who are quite as deserving of mention as those whom I have recalled. Furthermore, there are many belonging to this category who cannot be included as they are still happily in the work. As we leave them, let us study for a few moments the institutions which they brought forth.

The two medical schools which were founded in the early forties remained for a quarter of a century the only medical colleges in the state with the exception of the Humboldt Medical College which, after a few years, gave up its pedagogic ghost. In 1869 a college was organized in Kansas City, and during the twenty-five years succeeding this the founding of a medical college was such an easy and pleasant process that it was indulged in ad libidum. Medical college establishment followed, during these years, well-known laws of evolution. From the old medical college tree a branch would start another medical school, and the branchlet would follow the same process until the parent institution could not longer be recognized in the development of its progeny. In this quarter of a century upward of twenty-five medical colleges were incorporated, all private institutions. I would not have you think that the men responsible for this remarkable fecundity were recreant to their obligation as medical men or that they had improper motives in this activity. They were, in the main, seriously interested in their work and were enthusiastic and zealous in their aims and effort. And, after all, there was not so much difference in the medical and perhaps pedagogic ability of the professors and those who were perforce outside of the professoriat field and who, except for the wonderful fertility of American laws of incorporation, would never have been able to partake of the succulent pabulum upon which the professors were feeding. Be this as it may, they have lived their day, have performed their earthly function, good or bad, and now, three institutions, adherent to the universities, are called upon to train such students in medicine as come to the State of Missouri for that purpose.

The hospitals too have been greatly changed since the first Sister's Hospital was started nearly a hundred years ago. The private hospital is being gradually evolved into a public institution or at least it is doing more and more public work and is becoming more and more dependent on public support and direction.

Coincidently the profession of nursing has grown with that of medicine, evidenced not only by the large number of self-sacrificing women who have accepted the call of humanity but also by the extension of the field of usefulness which is widening day by day.

This brings me to the conclusion of my theme—the public work of the physicians of Missouri for the past hundred years. It would be vain to attempt an enumeration of what the profession has done in this regard, for our medical men have always been in the forefront when they were needed. Witness their untiring devotion to the free institutions of the state, their willing self-sacrifice in epidemics, more especially that of cholera in 1849 when nearly 5,000 died from this scourge and of yellow fever in 1878 and '79. Missouri physicians served in the war of 1812 and in the Mexican War. They were divided in their allegiance during the Civil War but they were always on the side of humanity, whatever flag waved over them.

And today they are again serving under the flag of their Country and humanity. One-sixth of the entire profession of Missouri have volunteered their services, constituting fully one-half of those available for duty. All honor to these men who are fulfilling the hundred year old traditions of the Medical Profession of Missouri and who are risking their lives to care for the men who have entered this terrible struggle to make an abiding place for free men in every land.

INEFFICIENCY OF WATER TRANSPORTATION IN MISSOURI—A GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS.

BY SAM T. BRATTON.

Missouri is situated in the central part of the great interior lowland of the United States, and this location places it in a region which has a climate characterized as continental, with hot summers and cold winters. The latter condition has a direct relation to the problem of inefficiency of water transportation.

The state has access to three trunk lines of drainage, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Arkansas rivers. The Mississippi flows along the entire eastern border; the Missouri forms nearly half of the western boundary then bends abruptly eastward and crosses the state to the Mississippi; the Arkansas system does not reach the southern boundary of the state, and it is only through minor tributaries that a part of the state is drained.

On account of a lack of efficient means of local transportation in the areas lying near the rivers, and a lack of navigable tributaries from the hinterland, the Mississippi and the Missouri furnished transportation for restricted areas only. The Mississippi and the Missouri are mature streams meandering through wide flood plains, therefore the providing of local transportation in the adjacent areas was handicapped by the topography of the region. The adjacent bluffs are from one hundred to two hundred feet high and at irregular intervals short, steep valleys from the upland reach the main streams, but, owing to their gradient, do not readily permit roads of easy grades. Also, many of these short streams have filled the valley of the main stream at their juncture to such an extent that the channel of the larger stream is forced far out into the flood plain, thus denying a landing place for river traffic. A few larger valleys reaching the main streams from the upland provide an easy grade into the interior, but along these streams the rough topography again prevails, thus repeating the difficulties presented along the main streams.

After reaching the upland from the valleys the journey across country from one settlement to another was very difficult. One of the many troubles was high water. One party was eleven days making the journey from Lexington, the river port, to the northern part of Henry county, a distance of about sixty miles. They were held for four days at Davis Creek, and further on were forced to swim Blackwater Creek.[1] "Going to mill in those days (1839-1840) when there were no roads, no bridges, no ferry boats, was no small task where so many rivers and treacherous streams were to be crossed. Supplies were obtained at Harmony Mission, Bates county, and at Boonville, seventy-five miles away."[2]

Another difficulty in the way of local transportation along the valleys of the larger streams was the forest belt, some twenty or thirty miles wide, adjacent to the streams. This belt was general along the Mississippi throughout the entire eastern border, and along the Missouri as far west as the central part of the state. In some parts of the state these forests were utilized in the building of "plank" roads, but as permanent highways these roads were failures.

The lack of navigable tributaries from the hinterland, the second condition, needs further consideration. From the northern part of the State the Missouri river receives nine streams designated as rivers, only three of which, the Chariton, Grand, and Platte are navigable in their lower courses and then only for keel boats and barges. Although the Missouri Legislature declared the Grand River navigable to the northern part of the State there is little evidence that traffic on this stream was ever of much consequence.[3] A record has it that in 1842 a small steamer made two trips to the east and west forks in the western part of Livingston county, also that a steamer landed at Chillicothe in 1865.[4] but even the early fur traders considered only one of the many tributary streams of the Missouri, the Grand, as of any importance as far as their business was concerned.

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[1] *History of Henry and St. Clair counties, p. 90.*

[2] *Loc. cit., p. 892.*

[3] Stevens, W. B., *Missouri the Center State, p. 110.*

From the south the Missouri received three navigable streams, the Osage, the Gasconade, and the La Mine. The topography of the region adjacent to these streams is also of the mature type, hence presents difficulties in reaching the uplands from the valleys. The most important of these rivers is the Osage, which was navigated for a few years by small steamers as far as Warsaw, Benton county. This was a water distance of some two hundred miles from its mouth, but a land distance of only about eighty miles, and in this entire distance parts of only six counties were served. The valley of the Osage was included in the territory of the American Fur Company, St. Louis, and in this valley "there were several posts, but they are scarcely ever mentioned in the annals of time."[5] The posts here referred to were Carondelet, Marias de Cygnes and Pomme de Terre.

Attempts to use the upper reaches of the Osage for commercial purposes were made but were never successful. In 1844 the steamer "Flora Jones" ascended the Osage to Harmony Mission in Bates county.[6] From accounts of the reception given this steamer by the inhabitants of the region it might be inferred that a second voyage was never attempted.

The Mississippi river receives six tributaries from Missouri north of the Missouri river, and four south of the river, none of which is of any commercial importance, because of the shortness of these streams and the rough topography of the adjacent regions. From the southern part of the state the Arkansas receives six tributaries, only one of which, the White river, has ever been of any commercial value, and its influence was altogether local. For some years a few small steamers came up to Forsyth, Taney county, but the trip was both hazardous and difficult. Forty miles below Forsyth there is a series of rapids which were passed by means of a donkey engine and winch on board, and a tow line made fast to a tree at the top of the rapids.[7] Approach to the valley of the White river from the uplands is made difficult, as in other parts of the state, by the mature dissection of the adjacent regions.

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[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Chittenden, H. M., *History American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 947.*

[6] Stevens, W. B., *Missouri the Center State, p. 111.*

Although the population of Missouri up to 1840 found ample room along the few navigable streams, those streams proved inadequate as transportation routes mainly because of difficulties of navigation and the winter season. Prior to the steamboat era, traffic on the river was by means of keel boats, barges and rafts. These could make fair headway down stream, but up stream the journey was extremely hazardous and difficult. The keel boat, the chief craft in use, was propelled by oars, and, when the wind was favorable, by sail; but such boats were usually pulled up the river by a rope fastened to the top of the mast and then passed through a ring and made fast to the bow of the boat. Men on shore walked along the bank of the stream and pulled the boat by means of this rope. Flat boats and barges were propelled up stream by using long setting-poles. The lower ends of these poles were placed on the bottom of the stream and the upper ends were held by men stationed along each side of the boat near the bow, facing the stern. When the men thus stationed walked along the boat's edge and pushed on the poles the craft was moved up stream.[8]

With the coming of the steamboats, chiefly after 1836, traffic on the river was somewhat easier, but the strong and shifting currents, the snags, and the many sand bars caused much trouble and great loss. During the steamboat period on the Missouri, (1836-1860), the average life of a boat was estimated at only five years.[9] The log of the steamer "Omega" from St. Louis to Fort Union in 1843 gives an excellent example of the difficulties of river traffic even on the most famous of Missouri's water routes.[10] The boat left St. Louis on April 25th, and on May 5th had reached St. Joseph, Missouri. During this ten days the boat stopped eight times for wood, as the fuel need was always pressing, and in many instances difficult to obtain, had channel troubles every day, was forced to tie up over night eight times, was stopped by high winds two times, ran aground three times, stuck crosswise the channel one time and so remained all night.

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[7] *Loc. cit., p. 114.*

[8] Houck, *History of Missouri, II, p. 265.*

The winter season coming just at the time when the outward movement of the surplus products from the farms and the inward movement of spring supplies were most needed, probably offered the greatest difficulty to satisfactory river traffic. An example of this winter tieup is shown by the City Hotel register of Boonville, in which is recorded the arrivals during each day in the year. The monthly totals for 1843 were as follows:

May	50	October	48
June	57	November	32
July	49	December	11
August	58	January	2
September	43	February	4

The record of the arrivals at the port of St. Louis of steamers from the Missouri, over the period from 1847 to 1851, shows a corresponding loss of traffic during the winter season.[11]

1847	May	63	January	0
1848	August	40	January	1
1849	April	63	January	0
1850	April	58	January	1
1851	June	48	January	0

An example of the amount of business done at St. Louis by river traffic from the Missouri is given by the engineer of the Pacific Railway in his report of 1851. The total freight, both up and down stream, was over 65,000 tons, and the average price was 30 cents per ton. This volume of business was carried during seven months of fair navigation, and three months of difficult navigation. During the remaining two months the river was considered closed.

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[9] *Western Journal and Civilian, I, p. 47.*

[10] Chittenden, H. M., *History American Fur Trade of the Far West.*

[11] *Western Journal and Civilian, I, p. 267.*

The region lying immediately along the Missouri and comprising some twenty-five counties had in 1850 a population of about 225,000, while the population of the entire state was about 680,000.[12] This region was producing much wealth, and had to depend upon the uncertainties of the river for transportation to and from the large markets. The following is a brief, partial summary of the resources of this area.[13]

Improved farms	acres	1,027,866
Value of machinery	dollars	1,323,612
Value of cattle	dollars	342,994
Value of sheep and swine	dollars	754,587
Wheat	bushels	969,237
Corn	bushels	12,196,438
Oats	bushels	1,815.923
Tobacco	pounds	2,998,978
Slaughtering	dollars	1,203,978

As a large part of these products was surplus and depended on the river for means of reaching the markets, the problem of river tariffs became important, and owing to the monopoly enjoyed by the boat owners, these tariffs were never satisfactory. Ruling tariffs from St. Louis to Boonville were submitted by the engineer of the Pacific Railway in his report of 1849, together with the proposed railroad charges, and a comparison of the two schedules shows the advantage to be on the side of the railroad as a carrier of both heavy and light freights.

The period of early settlement in Missouri may be said to cover the years from the founding of Ste. Genevieve in 1735, up to the Louisiana Purchase in 1804. The settlements were confined to the eastern section of the state and extended from New Madrid on the south, northward to St. Charles on the Missouri near its mouth, and had in 1804 an aggregate population of nearly 10,000.[14] By 1821, when Missouri was admitted as a state, the population had increased to about 70,000 and had spread up the Missouri River to the Boon's Lick Country. From this time until the railroad era, beginning in the fifties, the growth of the state's population was rapid, (population in 1850, 680,000), but the thickly settled regions were still along the main stream valleys and in the adjacent regions. During this era of growth the state was largely dependent upon transportation by water, which may be summarized as follows:

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[12] *U. S. Census, 1850.*

[13] *Report, Engineer of Pacific, 1850.*

Only a few counties with a population of less than one-third of the entire state had any water facilities.

The river counties lacked local means of getting products to and from the river.

River traffic, when reached, was very unsatisfactory because of difficulties offered, by the stream itself, by the winter season, and by the freight charges.

The greater part of the state had no water transportation whatever; the few main cross-country roads served but small areas and were well nigh impossible during most of the year; markets were too far from the producing areas for hauling by wagon, or for driving live stock on foot, hence the greater development of the state awaited the coming of railroads.

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[14] Viles, Jonas, *Population and Settlement in Missouri, Mo. Historica Review, V, p. 190, ff.*

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

THE MORMON LEADERS AS PRISONERS.

Returning to the Mormon leaders, who were prisoners, we quote Joseph Smith, Jr., when we say that on November 2, 1838, he, along with Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Amasa Lyman and George W. Robinson, were started for Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, and encamped at night on Crooked River, under a strong guard commanded by Generals Lucas and Wilson. (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 510, 523, 525.)
Continuing he says:

"Saturday, November 3, 1838, we continued our march and arrived at the Missouri River, which separated us from Jackson County, where we were hurried across the ferry when but few troops had passed. The truth was General Clark had sent an express from Richmond to General Lucas to have the prisoners sent to him and thus prevent our going to Jackson County, both armies being competitors for the honor of possessing 'the royal prisoners.' Clark wanted the privilege of putting us to death himself, and Lucas and his troops were desirous of exhibiting us in the streets of Independence.

"Sunday, 4th. We were visited by some ladies and gentlemen. One of the women came up and very candidly inquired of the troops which of the prisoners was the Lord whom the Mormons worshiped. One of the guards pointed to me with a significant smile and said, 'This is he,' The woman then turning to me inquired whether I professed to be the Lord and Savior. I replied that I professed to be nothing but a man and a minister of salvation, sent by Jesus Christ to preach the Gospel. This answer so surprised the woman that she began to inquire into our doctrine, and I preached a discourse both to her and her companions and to the wondering soldiers, who listened with almost breathless attention while I set forth the doctrine of faith in Jesus Christ, and repentence, and baptism for remission of sins, with the promise of the Holy Ghost, as recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

"The woman was satisfied and praised God in the hearing of the soldiers, and went away praying that God would protect and deliver us. Thus was fulfilled a prophecy which had been spoken publicly by me a few months previous—that a sermon should be preached in Jackson County by one of our elders before the close of 1838.

"The troops having crossed the river about ten o'clock we proceeded on and arrived at Independence, past noon, in the midst of great rain and a multitude of spectators, who had assembled to see us and hear the bugles sound a blast of triumphant joy, which echoed through the camp as we were ushered into a vacant house prepared for our reception, with a floor for our beds and blocks of wood for our pillows."

PERSONAL LETTER OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR., TO HIS WIFE.

The following letter written at this date by Joseph Smith, Jr., the original of which is now in possession of Apostle Heman C. Smith of Lamoni, Ia., conflicts slightly with this account as regards their treatment:

"Independence, Jackson Co., Missouri,
November 4, 1838.

"My dear and beloved companion of my bosom, in tribulation and affliction: I would inform you that I am well and that we are all of us in good spirits as regards our own fate. We have been protected by the Jackson County boys in the most genteel manner, and arrived here in the midst of a splended parade, a little after noon. Instead of going to gaol we have a good house provided for us and the kindest treatment. I have great anxiety about you and my lovely children. My heart mourns and bleeds for the brethren and sisters, and for the slain of the people of God. Colonel Hinkle proved to be a traitor to the Church. He is worse than a Hull who betrayed the army at Detroit. He decoyed us unawares. God reward him. John Corrill told General Wilson that he was going to leave the Church. General Wilson says he thinks much less of him now than before. Why I mention this is to have you careful not to trust them. If we are permitted to stay any time here we have obtained a promise that we may have our families brought to us. What God may do for us I do not know, but I hope for the best always in all circumstances. Although I go into death I will trust in God. What outrages may be committed by the mob I know not, but expect there will be but little or no restraint.

"Oh! May God have mercy on us.

"When we arrived at the river last night an express came to General Wilson from General Clark, of Howard County, claiming the right of command, ordering us back, where or what place, God only knows; and there are some feelings between the officers. I do not know where it will end. It is said by some that General Clark is determined to exterminate. God has spared some of us thus far, perhaps he will extend mercy in some degree toward us yet. Some of the people of this place have told me that some of the Mormons may settle in this county as other men do. I have some hopes that something may turn out for good to the afflicted saints. I want you to stay where you are until you hear from me again. I may send for you to bring you to me. I cannot learn much for certainty in the situation that I am in, and can only pray for deliverance until it is meted out, and take everything as it comes with patience and fortitude. I hope you will be faithful and true to every trust. I can't write much in my situation. Conduct all matters as your circumstances and necessities require. May God give you wisdom and prudence and sobriety, which I have every reason to believe you will. Those little children are subjects of my mediation continually. Tell them that Father is yet alive. God grant that he may see them again. Oh! Emma, for God's sake do not forsake me nor the truth, but remember me. If I do not meet you again in this life, may God grant that we may—may we meet in heaven. I cannot express my feelings; my heart is full. Farewell, O my kind and affectionate Emma. I am yours forever, Your husband and true friend.

JOSEPH SMITH, JR."

CONTINUATION OF DIARY OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"General Clark arrived at Far West with one thousand six hundred men, and five hundred more were within eight miles of the city. Thus Far West has been visited by six thousand men in one week. When the Militia of the city (before any were taken prisoners) amounted only to about five hundred, whose arms having been secured, the mob continued to hunt the brethren like wild beasts, and shot several, ravished the women, and killed one near the city; no saint was permitted to go in or out of the city, and they lived on parched corn.

"General Clark ordered General Lucas, who had previously gone to Adam-ondi-Ahman with his troops, to take the whole of the men of the Mormons prisoners and place such a guard around them and the town as will protect the prisoners and secure them until they can be dealt with properly, and secure all their property, till the best means could be adopted for paying the damages the citizens had sustained.

"Monday, 5th. We were kept under a small guard and were treated with some degree of hospitality and politeness, while many flocked to see us. We spent most of our time in preaching and conversation, explanatory of our doctrines and practice, which removed mountains of prejudice and enlisted the populace in our favor, notwithstanding their old hatred and wickedness towards our society.

"The brethren at Far West were ordered by General Clark to form a line, when the names of fifty-six present were called and made prisoners to await their trial for something they knew not. They were kept under a close guard.

"Shortly after our arrival in Jackson County, Colonel Sterling Price, (afterward General Price of Confederate fame) from the army of General Clark, came with orders from General Clark, who was Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, to have us forwarded forthwith to Richmond. Accordingly on Thursday morning we started with three guards only, and they had been obtained with great difficulty, after laboring all the previous day to get them. Between Independence and Roy's Ferry, on the Missouri River, they all got drunk, and we got possession of their arms and horses. It was late in the afternoon, near the setting of the sun. We traveled about half a mile after we crossed the river and put up for the night.

"Friday, 9th. This morning there came a number of men, some of them armed. Their threatenings and savage appearance were such as to make us afraid to proceed without more guards. A messenger was therefore dispatched to Richmond to obtain them. We started before their arrival, but had not gone far before we met Colonel Price with a guard of about seventy-four men, and were conducted by them to Richmond and put into an old vacant house, and a guard set.

"Some time through the course of that day General Clark came and and we were introduced to him. We inquired of him the reason why we had been thus carried from our homes, and what were the charges against us. He said that he was not then able to determine, but would be in a short time; and with very little more conversation, withdrew.

"Sometime after he had withdrawn Colonel Price came in with two chains in his hands and a number of padlocks. The two chains he fastened together. He had with him ten men, armed, who stood at the time of these operations with a thumb upon the cock of their guns.

"They first nailed down the windows, then came and ordered a man by the name of John Fulkinson, whom he had with him, to chain us together with chains and padlocks, being seven in number.

"After that he searched us, examining our pockets to see if we had any arms. Finding nothing but pocket knives, he took them and conveyed them off.

"Saturday, 10th. General Clark had spent his time since our arrival in Richmond in searching the laws to find authority for trying us by court martial. Had he not been a lawyer of eminence I should have supposed it no very difficult task to decide that quiet, peaceful, unoffending, and private citizens too, except as ministers of the gospel, were not amenable to military tribunal, in a country governed by civil laws. But be this as it may, General Clark wrote the Governor in part as follows:

"'Detained General White and his field officers here a day or two, for the purpose of holding a court martial, if necessary. I this day made out charge against the prisoners and called on Judge King to try them as a committing court; and I am now busily engaged in procuring witnesses and submitting facts. There are no civil officers in Caldwell. I have to use the military to get witnesses from there, which I do without reserve. The most of the prisoners here I consider guilty of treason; and I believe will be convicted; and the only difficulty in law is, can they be tried in any county but Caldwell. If not, they cannot be there indicted, until a change of population. In the event this latter view is taken by the civil courts, I suggest the propriety of trying Jo Smith and those leaders taken by General Lucas, by a court martial for mutiny. This I am in favor of only as a dernier resort. I would have taken this course with Smith at any rate; but it being doubtful whether a court martial has jurisdiction or not in the present case—that is, whether these people are to be treated as in time of war, and the mutineers as having mutinied in time of war—and I would here ask you to forward to me the Attorney-General's opinion on this point. It will not do to allow these leaders to return to their treasonable work again, on account of their not being indicted in Caldwell. They have committed treason, murder, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny and perjury.'

"Sunday, 11th. While in Richmond we were under the charge of Colonel Price from Chariton County, who suffered all manner of abuse to be heaped upon us. During this time my afflictions were great and our situation was truly painful.

"General Clark informed us that he would turn us over to the civil authorities for trial, and so

Joseph Smith, Jr.,
Hyrum Smith,
Sidney Rigdon,
Parley P. Pratt,
Lyman Wight,
Amasa Lyman,
George W. Robinson,
Caleb Baldwin,
Alanson Ripley,
Washington Voorhees,
Sidney Turner,
John Buchanan,
Jacob Gates,
Chandler Holbrook,
George W. Harris,
Jesse D. Hunter,
Andrew Whitlock,
Martin C. Allred,
William Allred,
George D. Grant,
Darwin Chase,
Elijah Newman,
Alvin G. Tippets,
Zedekiah Owens,
Isaac Morley,
Thomas Beck,
Moses, Clawson,
John T. Tanner,
Daniel Shearer
Alexander McRae,
Elisha Edwards,
John S, Higbee,
Ebenezer Page
Benjamin Covey,
Ebenezer Robinson,
Luman Gibbs,
Joseph W. Younger,
Henry Zabraki,
Allen J. Stout,
Sheffield Daniels,
Silas Maynard
Anthony Head,
Benjamin Jones,
Daniel Carn,
John T. Earl,
Norman Shearer,
James M. Henderson,
David Pettegrew,
Edward Partridge,
Francis Higbee,
David Frampton,
George Kimball and
Daniel S. Thomas.

were brought before Austin A. King, at Richmond, for trial, charged with the several crimes of high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery and larceny.

"Monday, 12th. The first act of this court was to send out a body of armed men without a civil process, to obtain witnesses."

PERSONAL LETTER OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR., TO HIS WIFE.

At this time Joseph Smith, Jr., wrote his wife as follows:

"Richmond, Missouri, November 12, 1838.

My dear Emma:

We are prisoners in chains and under strong guard for Christ's sake, and for no other cause, although there have been things that were unbeknown to us and altogether beyond our control that might seem to the mob to be a pretext for them to prosecute us; but on examination I think that the authorities will discover our innocence and set us free; but if this blessing cannot be obtained, I have this consolation, that I am an innocent man, let what will befall me. I received your letter, which I read over and over again; it was a sweet morsel to me. O God, grant that I may have the privilege of seeing once more my lovely family in the enjoyment of the sweets of liberty and social life; to press them to my bosom and kiss their lovely cheeks would fill my heart with unspeakable gratitude. Tell the children that I am alive, and trust I shall come and see them before long. Comfort their hearts all you can, and try to be comforted yourself all you can. There is no possible danger but what we shall be set at liberty if justice can be done, and that you know as well as myself. The trial will begin today for some of us. Lawyer Reese, and we expect Doniphan, will plead our cause. We could get no others in time for the trial. They are able men and will do well no doubt.

Brother Robinson is chained next to me, he has a true heart and a firm hand. Brother Wight is next, Brother Rigdon next, Hyrum next, Parley next, Amasa next, and thus we are bound together in chains, as well as cords of everlasting love. We are in good spirits and rejoice that we are counted worthy to be persecuted for Christ's sake. Tell little Joseph he must be a good boy. Father loves him with a perfect love; he is the eldest—must not hurt those that are smaller than he, but care for them. Tell little Frederick father loves him with all his heart; he is a lovely boy. Julia is a lovely little girl; I love her also. She is a promising child; tell her father wants her to remember him and be a good girl. Tell all the rest that I think of them and pray for them all. Bro. Babbit is waiting to carry our letters for us. Colonel Price is inspecting them, therefore my time is short. Little Alexander is on my mind continually. Oh, my affectionate Emma, I want you to remember that I am a true and faithful friend to you and the children forever. My heart is entwined around yours forever and ever. Oh, my God, bless you all. Amen. I am your husband, and am in bonds and tribulation, etc.,

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

To Emma Smith:

P. S.—Write as often as you can, and if possible come and see me, and bring the children if possible. Act according to your own feelings and best judgment, and endeavor to be comforted if possible, and I trust that all will turn out for the best. Yours, J. S."

CONTINUATION OF DIARY OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"Tuesday, 13. We were placed at bar, Austin A. King presiding and Thomas C. Burch, State's Attorney. Witnesses were called and sworn at the point of the bayonet.

"Dr. Sampson Avard was the first brought before the court. He had previously told Mr. Oliver Olney that if he (Olney) wished to save himself, he must swear hard against the heads of the Church as they were the ones this court wanted to criminate; and if he could swear hard against them, they would not (that is, neither court nor mob) disturb him. 'I intend to do it' said he, 'in order to escape, for if I do not, they will take my life.'

"This introduction is sufficient to show the character of his testimony, and he swore just according to the statement he had made, doubtless thinking it a wise course to ingratiate himself into the good graces of the mob."

TESTIMONY OF SAMPSON AVARD, INCLUDING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DANITE SOCIETY AND SIDNEY RIGDON'S PAPER AGAINST THE DISSENTERS.

The record shows that the testimony taken was in the form of depositions. The following is the testimony of Sampson Avard, a witness produced, sworn and examined on behalf of the State, who deposeth, and saith:

"That about four months ago, a band called the Daughters of Zion, since called Danite band, was formed of the members of the Mormon Church, the original object of which was to drive from the county of Caldwell all those who dissented from the Mormon Church, in which they succeeded admirably, and to the satisfaction of those concerned.

"I consider Joseph Smith, Jun., as the prime mover and organizer of this Danite band.

"The officers of the band, according to their grades, were brought before him at a school house, together with Hiram Smith and Sidney Rigdon; the three composing the first presidency of the whole church. Joseph Smith, Jun., blessed them, and prophesied over them, declaring that they should be the means, in the hands of God, of bringing forth the Millennial Kingdom. It was stated by Joseph Smith, Jun., that it was necessary this band should be bound together by a Covenant, that those who revealed the secrets of the society should be put to death.

"The covenant taken by all the Danite band was as follows, to wit: They declared, holding up their right hands, in the name of Jesus Christ, the son of God, 'I do solemnly obligate myself ever to conceal and never to reveal the secret purposes of this society, called the Daughters of Zion; should I ever do the same, I hold my life as the forfeiture.' The Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jun., together with his two counsellors, Hiram Smith and Sidney Rigdon, were considered as the supreme head of the Church, and the Danite band felt themselves as much bound to obey them, as to obey the Supreme God.

"Instruction was given to the Danite band by Joseph Smith, Jun., that if any of them should get into difficulty, the rest should help him out, and that they should stand by each other, right or wrong; and that this instruction was given at a public address delivered at a Danite meeting. As for Joseph Smith, Junior, and his two counsellors, the witness does not know that they ever took the Danite oath. He knows all the rest of the defendants to be Danites, except Sidney Tanner, Andrew Whitlock, Zedekiah Owens, Thomas Rich, John J. Tanner, Daniel S. Thomas, David Pettigrew, George Kemble, Anthony Head, Benjamin Jones and Norman Shearer. At the election last August a report came to Far West that some of the brethren in Daviess were killed. I called for twenty volunteers to accompany me to Daviess to see into the matter. I went, and about one hundred and twenty Mormons accompanied me to Adam-on-di-ahman, Mr. Joseph Smith, Jun., in company. When we arrived there I found the report exaggerated; none were killed. We visited Mr. Adam Black; about one hundred and fifty or two hundred of us armed. Joseph Smith, Jun., was commander, and if Black had not signed the paper he did, it was the common understanding and belief that he would have shared the fate of the dissenters. Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight were at Adam when we went to Black's, and advised the movement of the prisoners. I do not recollect that Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin, Washington Vories, Sidney Tanner, John Buchanan, Jacob Gates, Chandler Holbrook, Geo. W. Harris, Jesse D. Hunter, Andrew Whitlock, Martin C. Alred, Wm. Alred, George Grant, Elizah Newman, Oliver L. Tiffets, Zedekiah Owens, Isaac Morley, Thos, Rich, Moses Clawson, John J. Tanner, Daniel Shearer, Daniel S. Thomas, Elisha Edwards, John S. Higby, Ebenezer Page, Benjamin Covey, Luman Gibbs, James M. Henderson, David Pettigrew, Edward Partridge, David Frampton, George Kemble, Jos. W. Younger, Henry Zabrisky, Allen J. Stout, Sheffield Daniels, Silas Manard, Anthony Head, Benjamin Jones, Daniel Carn, John T. Eare and Norman Shearer, were with us on the Expedition to Daviess County.

"As regards the affair at DeWitt, I know little personally; but I heard Mr. Sidney Rigdon say they had gone down to DeWitt, where it was said a mob had collected to wage war upon the Mormons residing in Carroll County, and that Joseph Smith, Junior, with his friends, went down to DeWitt, to give aid and help to his brethren. The Company was armed, as I presume. Hiram Smith was one in the Company, and Geo. W. Robertson also. Amaza Lyman went to see what was going on. I heard the above named persons say they were in Henkle's Camp at DeWitt several days, except Amaza Lyman. I know not that he was at DeWitt. When the Mormons returned from DeWitt, it was rumored that a mob was collecting in Daviess. Joseph Smith, Jun., the Sunday before the late affair in Daviess, at a church meeting, gave notice that he wished the whole county collected on the next Monday at Far West, where he said (or the Sunday before, I don't recollect which,) that all who did not take up arms in defense of the Mormons of Daviess should be considered as tories, and should take their exit from the county. At the meeting on Monday, where persons met from all parts of Caldwell County, Joseph Smith, Jun., took the pulpit, and delivered an address, in which he said, that we had been an injured people, driven violently from Jackson County; that we had appealed to the governor, magistrates, judges, and even to the President of the United States, and that there had been no redress for us; and that now a mob was about to destroy the rights of our brethren in Daviess County; and that it was high time that we should take measures to defend our rights. In this address he related an anecdote about a captain who applied to a Dutchman to purchase potatoes, who refused to sell. The Captain charged his company several different times, not to touch the Dutchman's potatoes. In the morning the Dutchman had not a potato left in his patch. This was in reference to our touching no property on our expedition to Daviess that did not belong to us; but he told us that the children of God did not go to war at their own expense.

"A vote was taken whether the brethren should then embody and go out to Daviess to attack the mob. This question was put by the Prophet, Joe Smith, and passed unanimously, with a few exceptions.

"Captains Patton and Branson were appointed Commanders of the Mormons, by Joseph Smith, Jun., to go to Daviess. He frequently called these men Generals. I once had a Command as an officer, but he, Joseph Smith, Jun., removed me from it, and I asked him the reason, and he assigned that he had another office for me. Afterwards Mr. Rigdon told me I was to fill the office of surgeon, to attend to the sick and wounded. After we arrived at Diahmond, in Daviess, a council was held at night, composed of Joseph Smith, Jun., Geo. W. Robertson, Hiram Smith, Captains Patton and Branson, Lyman Wight, Present R. Cahoon, P. P. Pratt and myself, and perhaps Mr. Kemble. President Rigdon was not present; a correspondence was kept up between him and Joseph Smith, Jun. I heard Rigdon read one of the letters from Smith, which, as I remember, was about as follows: That he knew, from prophecy and from the revelation of Jesus Christ, that the enemies of the kingdom were in their hands, and that they should succeed. Rigdon on reading the letter said it gave him great consolation to have such authority that the kingdom of God was rolling on.

"In the above-referred-to council, Mr. Smith spoke of the grievances we had suffered in Jackson, Clay, Kirtland and other places; declared that, in future, we must stand up for our rights as citizens of the United States, and as Saints of the Most High God; and that it was the will of God we should do so, and that we should do so; and that we should be free and independent; and that, as the State of Missouri and the United States would not protect us, it was time that we should rise, as the Saints of the Most High God, and protect ourselves, and take the kingdom; and Lyman Wight observed that before the winter was over, he thought we would be in St. Louis and take it.

"Smith charged them that they should be united in supporting each other. Smith said, on some occasion, that one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight; that he considered the United States rotten. He compared the Mormon Church to the little stone spoken of by the prophet Daniel, and that the dissenters, first, was part of the image, and the State next, that should be destroyed by this little stone. The council was called on to vote the above measures, and were unanimous in favor of them.

"On the next day, Captain Patton, who was called by the Prophet, Captain Fearnought, took command of a body of armed men, about one hundred, and told them he had a job for them to do, and that the work of the Lord was rolling on, and that they must be united. He then led his troops to Gallatin, saying, he was going to attack the mob there. He made a rush into Gallatin, dispersed the few men there, and took the goods out of Stollings store, and took them to Diahmond; and I afterwards saw the storehouse on fire, when we returned to Diahmond, the goods were deposited in the Lord's store house, under the care of Bishop

Vincent Knight. Orders were given that all the goods should be put in the Lord's store house. Joseph Smith, Junior, was at Diahmond, giving directions about things in general connected with the war. When Patton returned from Gallatin, to Adam-ondi-Ahmend, the goods were divided, or apportioned out amongst those engaged; and these affairs were conducted under the superintendency of the First Presidency. A part of the goods was brought to Far West, under the care of Captain Fearnaught. On their arrival, President Rigdon and others shouted the hosannas to the victory. On the day Patton went to Gallatin, Col. Wight went to Mill Port, as I understood. I saw a great many cattle, beds, furniture, etc., brought into our camps. After we returned to Far West, the troops were constantly kept in motion, and there was a council held at President Rigdon's house to determine who should be chiefs. It was determined that Col. Wight should be commander-in-chief at Diahmond; Branson, Captain of the flying horse of Daviess; Col. Henckle should be commander-in-chief of the Far West troops; Captain Patton, of the Cavalry of the flying horse; and that the Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jun., should be commander-in-chief of the whole kingdom. The council was composed of Joseph Smith, Jun., Captain Fearnaught, alias Patton, Henckle, and Col. Wight and President Rigdon.

"The object of that council was, in furtherance of the scheme proposed in Council in Daviess county, referred to above.

"After the Council, Fearnaught disputed as to the Chief Command of the Far West troops, and had a small altercation about it with Henckle; but Smith proposed that they agree to disagree, and go on for the good of the kingdom. The troops were kept together until the militia came out lately. There were about from five to eight hundred men, as I suppose, under arms. It was about the time the militia came out lately to Far West under Gen. Lucas, that our Prophet assembled the troops together at Far West, into a hollow square and addressed them; and stated to them that the kingdom of God should be set up, and should never fall, and for every one that we lacked in number in amount of those who came against us, the Lord would send angels who would fight for us, and we should be victorious. After the militia had been near Far West a while, in an address Smith said that those troops were militia, and that we were militia too, and both sides clever fellows; and that he advised them to know nothing of what had passed; to say nothing, and to keep dark; that he, Smith, had forgotten more than he then knew. After it was ascertained that the militia had arrived, intelligence was immediately sent to Diahmond, to Col. Wight. Next morning, Col. Wight arrived in Far West with about one hundred mounted and armed men. The troops were constantly kept prepared, and in a situation to repel attack. The evening the militia arrived near Far West, it was the general understanding in the Mormon camp that they were militia legally called out; and, indeed, previous to the arrival of the militia, it was ascertained that there were militia on their way to Far West. Some months ago, I received orders to destroy the papers concerning the Danite Society, which order was issued by the First Presidency, and which paper, being the constitution for the Government of the Danite Society, was in my custody, but which I did not destroy; it is now in Gen. Clark's possession. I gave the paper up to Gen. Clark after I was taken prisoner. I found it in my house, where I had previously deposited it, and I believe it had never been in any person's possession after I first received it. This paper was taken into President Rigdon's house, and read to the first presidency, Hiram Smith being absent, and was unanimously adopted by them as their rule and guide in future. After it was thus adopted, I was instructed by the council to destroy it, as if it should be discovered, it would be considered treasonable. This constitution after it was approved of by the First Presidency, was read article by article, to the Danite band, and unanimously adopted by them. This paper was drawn up about the time that the Danite band was formed. Since the drawing of the paper against the dissenters, it was, that this constitution of the Danite band was drafted; but I have no minutes of the time, as we were directed not to keep written minutes; which constitution above referred to, is as follows:

"Whereas, in all bodies, laws are necessary for the permancy, safety and well being of the society. We, the members of the Society of the Daughters of Zion, do agree to regulate themselves under such laws as, in righteousness, shall be deemed necessary for the preservation of our holy religion and of our most sacred rights and the rights of our wives and children.

"But to be explicit on the subject, it is especially, our object to support and defend the rights conferred on us by our venerable sires, who purchased them with the pledges of their lives, their fortunes and sacred honors; and now, to prove ourselves worthy of liberty conferred on us by them in the providence of God, we do agree to be governed by such laws as shall perpetuate these high privileges, of which we know ourselves to be the rightful possessors, and of which privileges, wicked and designing men have tried to deprive us by all manner of evil, and that purely in consequence of the tenacity we have manifested in the discharge of our duty towards our God, who had given us those rights and privileges, and a right in common with others, to dwell on this land. But we, not having the privileges of others allowed unto us, have determined, like unto our fathers, to resist tyranny—whether it be in kings or in people, it is all alike unto us, our rights we must have, and our rights we shall have, in the name of Israel's God.

'Article 1. All power belongs, originally and legitimately, to the people, and they have a right to dispose of it as they shall deem fit. But, as it is inconvenient and impossible to convene the people in all cases, the legislative powers have been given by them, from time to time, into the hands of a representation, composed of delegates from the people themselves. This is, and has been the law, both in civil and religious bodies, and is the true principal.

'Article 2. The Executive power shall be vested in the President of the whole church, and his counsellors.

'Article 3. The legislative powers shall reside in the President and his counsellors, together, and with the generals and colonels of the society. By them, all laws shall be made, regulating the society.

'Article 4. All officers shall be, during life and good behavior, or to be regulated by the law of God.

"Article 5. The society reserves the power of electing all its officers, with the exception of the aids and clerks, which the officers may need, in their various stations. The nominations to go from the Presidency to his second, and from the second, to the third in rank, and so down through all the various grades; each branch, or department, retains the power of electing its own particular officers.

'Article 6. Punishments shall be administered to the guilty, in accordance to the offense, and no member shall be punished without law, or by any others than those appointed by law for that purpose. The legislature shall have power to make such laws, regulating punishments, as in their judgments shall be wisdom and righteousness.

'Article 7. There shall be a secretary, whose business it shall be to keep all the legislative records of the society, and also to keep a register of the name of every member of the society; also, the rank of the officers. He shall also communicate the laws to the generals, as directed by laws made for the regulation of such business by the legislature.

"Article 8. All officers shall be subject to the commands of the Captain-General, given through the Secretary of War; and so, all officers shall be subject to their superiors in rank, according to laws made for that purpose

"In connection with the grand scheme of the Prophet, his preachers and apostles were instructed to preach, and to instruct their followers (who are estimated in Europe and America, at about 40,000) that it was their duty to come up to the stake, called Far West, and to possess the kingdom; that it was the will of God that they should do so, and that the Lord would give them power to possess the kingdom. There was another writing, drawn up in June last, which had for its object to get rid of the dissenters, and which had the desired effect. Since that time, and since the introduction of this scheme of the Prophet, made known in the above constitution. I have heard the Prophet say that it was a fortunate thing that we got rid of the dissenters, as they would have endangered the rolling on of the kingdom of God, as introduced, and to be carried into effect, by the Danite band; that they (the dissenters) were great obstacles in the way; and that, unless they were removed, the aforesaid kingdom of God could not roll on. This paper against the dissenters was drafted by Sidney Rigdon, and is as follows:

'Far West, June —, 1838.

To Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps and Lyman E. Johnson, greeting:

'Whereas, the citizens of Caldwell county have borne with the abuse received from you, at different times and on different occasions, until it is no longer to be endured, neither will they endure it any longer, having exhausted all the patience they have, and conceive that to bear any longer is a vice instead of a virtue; we have borne long and suffered incredibly, but we will neither bear nor suffer any longer and the decree has gone forth, from our hearts, and shall not return to us void; neither think, gentlemen, that in so saying we are trifling with either you or ourselves, for we are not. There are no threats from you—no fear of losing our lives by you, or by anything you can say or do, will restrain us; for out of the country you shall go, and no power shall save you; and you shall have three days, after you receive this, our communication to you, including twenty-four hours in each day, for you to depart, with your families, peaceably; which you may do, undisturbed by any person; but, in that time, if you do not depart, we will use the means in our power to cause you to depart; for go you shall; we will have no more promises to reform, as you have already done, and in every instance violated your promise, and regarded not the covenant which you had made, but put both it and us at defiance. We have solemnly warned you, and that in the most determined manner, that if you did not cease that course of wanton abuse of the citizens of this county, that vengence would overtake you, sooner or later, and that when it did come, it would be as furious as the mountain torrent, and as terrible as the beating tempest—but you have affected to despise our warnings, and passed them off with a sneer, or a grin, or a threat, and pursued your former course and vengence sleeps not, neither does it slumber, and unless you heed us this time, and attend to our request, it will overtake you at an hour when you do not expect, and at a day when you do not look for it; and for you there shall be no escape for there is but one decree for you, which is, depart, depart, or else a more fatal calamity shall befall you.

'After Oliver Cowdery had been taken by a States warrant for stealing, and the stolen property found concealed in the house of William W. Phelps, in which nefarious transaction John Whitmer had also participation, Oliver Cowdery stole the property, conveyed it to John Whitmer, and John Whitmer to William W. Phelps, and there the officers of the law found it. While in the hands of the officer, and under an arrest for this vile transaction, and, if possible, to hide your shame from the world, like criminals, which indeed you were, you appealed to our beloved President, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon; men whose characters you had endeavored to destroy by every artifice you could invent, not even the basest lying excepted; and did you find them revengeful? No, but notwithstanding all your scandalous attacks, still such was the nobleness of their character, that even vile enemies could not appeal to them in vain. They enlisted, as you well know, their influence to save you from your just fate, and they, by their influence, delivered you out of the hand of the officer. While you were pleading with them you promised reformation—you bound yourselves by the most solemn promises, that you would never be employed again, in abusing any of the citizens of Caldwell; and by such condescensions did you attempt to escape the workhouse. But now, for the sequal. Did you practice the promised reformation? You know you did not! but, by secret efforts continued to practice your iniquity, and secretly to injure their characters, notwithstanding their kindness to you. Are such things to be borne? You, yourselves, would answer that they are insufferable, if you were to answer according to the feelings of your own hearts. As we design this paper to be published to the world, we will give an epitome of your scandalous conduct and treachery for the last two years. We wish to remind you that Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were among the principal of those who were the means of gathering us to this place, by their testimony which they gave concerning the plates of the Book of Mormon—that they were shown to them by an angel, which testimony we believe now, as much as before you had so scandalously disgraced it, you commenced your wickedness by heading a party to disturb the worship of the saints in the first day of the week, and made the House of the Lord, in Kirtland, to be a scene of abuse and slander, to destroy the reputation of those whom the church had appointed to be their teachers, and for no other cause, only that you were not the persons. The Saints in Kirtland, having elected Oliver Cowdery to be a justice of the peace, he used the power of his office to take their most sacred rights from them, and that contrary to law. He supported a parcel of black-legs, in disturbing the worship of the Saints, and when the men whom the Church had chosen to preside over their meetings, endeavored to put the house to order, he helped—and by the authority of his Justices office too—those wretches to continue their confusion, and threatened the church with a prosecution for trying to put them out of the house, and issued writs against the Saints for endeavoring to sustain their rights, and bound them, under heavy bonds, to appear before his honor, and required bonds which were both inhuman and unlawful; and one of those was the venerable father who had been appointed by the church to preside —a man of upwards of seventy years of age, and notorious for his peaceable habits. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Lyman E. Johnson, united with a gang of counterfeiters, thieves, liars and black-legs of the deepest dye, to deceive, cheat and defraud the Saints of their property, by every act and stratagem which wickedness could invent; using the influence of the vilest persecutors, to bring vexatious law suits, villianous prosecutions, and even stealing not excepted. In the midst of this career, for fear that the Saints would seek redress at their hands, they breathed out threatenings of mobs, and actually made attempts with their gang to bring mobs upon them. Oliver Cowdery and his gang, such of them as belonged to the church, were called to an account by the church for their iniquity. They confessed repentance, and were again restored to the church. But the very first opportunity, they were again practicing their former course. While this wickedness was going on in Kirtland, Cowdery and his company were writing letters to Far West, in order to destroy the character of every person that they thought were standing in their way; and John Whitmer and William W. Phelps were assisting to prepare the way to throw confusion among the Saints of Far West. During the full career of Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer's bogus money business, information got abroad into the world that they were engaged in it, and several gentlemen were preparing to commence a prosecution against Cowdery. He finding it out, took with him, Lyman E. Johnson and fled to Far West with their families, Cowdery stealing a property, and bringing it with him, which has, within a few weeks past, been obtained by the owner, by means of a search warrant, and he was saved from the penitentiary by the influence of two influential men of the place. He also brought notes with him, upon which he had received pay, and had promised to destroy them, and made an attempt to sell them to Mr. Arthur of Clay county. And Lyman E. Johnson, on his arrival reported that he had a note of one thousand dollars against a principal man in this church, when it is a fact that it was a palpable falsehood, and he had no such thing, and he did it for the purpose of injuring his character. Shortly after Cowdery and Johnson left Kirtland for Far West, they were followed by David Whitmer, on whose arrival a general system of slander and abuse was commenced by you all, for the purpose of destroying the characters of certain individuals, whose influence, and strict regard for righteousness, you dreaded, and not only yourselves, but your wives and children, led by yourselves, were busily engaged in it. Neither were you content with slandering and vilifying here, but you kept up continual correspondence with your gang of marauders in Kirtland, encouraging them to go on with their iniquity, which they did to perfection, but swearing false, to injure the characters and property of innocent men; stealing, cheating, lying, instituting vexatious lawsuits, selling bogus money, and also stones and sand for bogus; in which nefarious business, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Lyman E. Johnson were engaged while you were there. Since you arrived here, you have commenced a general system of the same kind of conduct in this place. You set up a nasty, dirty, pettifoggers office, pretending to be judges of the law; when it is a notorious fact that you are profoundly ignorant of it, and of every other thing which is calculated to do mankind good; or if you know it, you take good care never to practice it; and in order to bring yourselves into notice, you began to interfere with all the business of the place, trying to destroy the character of our merchants, and bring their creditors upon them and break them up. In addition to this, you stirred up men of a weak mind to prosecute one another, for the vile purpose of getting a fee for a pettifogger from them.

"'You have also been threatening, continually, to enter into a general system of prosecuting; determined, as you said, to pick a flaw in the titles of those who have bought city lots and built upon them, not that you can do anything but cause vexatious law suits. And amongst the most monstrous of all your abominations, we have evidence, which when called upon we can produce, that letters sent to the postoffice, in this place, have been opened, read and destroyed, and the persons to whom they were sent never obtained them; thus ruining the business of the place. We have evidence of a very strong character, that you are at this very time engaged with a gang of counterfeiters and coiners, and black-legs, as some of those characters have lately visited our city from Kirtland, and told what they had come for, and we know assuredly, that if we suffer you to continue, we may expect, and that speedily, to find a general system of stealing, counterfeiting, cheating and burning of property, as in Kirtland, for so are your associates carrying on there at this time, and that encouraged by you, by means of the letters you send continually to them; and to crown the whole, you have had the audacity to threaten us, that if we offered to disturb you, you would get up a mob from Clay and Ray counties. For this insult, if nothing else, and your threatening to shoot us, if we offered to molest you, we will put you from the county of Caldwell—so help us God!'

(The above was signed by some eighty-four Mormons.)

"About the time the dissenters fled, President Rigdon preached a sermon from the text: 'Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewithal shall it be salted, etc.' commonly called 'The Salt Sermon,' in which the dissenters were called the salt which had lost its savor, and that they should be trampled upon and driven out by the Saints, which was well understood by the Danites as a part of their duty to do. When General Lucas's men marched up to Far West, Smith told me (as I understood him) that he had said to one of the militia captains not to come any farther, as he might get into danger, Smith, after erecting his bulwark, asked me if I did not think him pretty much of a general? I answered in the affirmative. We were advised, all the time, to fight valiantly, and that the angels of the Lord would appear in our defense, and fight our battles.

"In reference to Bogart's battle, I know but little personally. As to the start of troops to fight Bogart, I was called upon to go along with the company, which was commanded by Patton as surgeon; this was about midnight, but as I thought a little sleep would do me more good than fighting, I remained at home. On the morning of the fight, about six o'clock, I was called upon by a Mr. Emmet, who informed me that Captain Fearnought was wounded mortally, I went to Patton, about three miles, as I understood, from the battle ground, where I found Joseph Smith, Jun., present, laying hands on the wounded, and blessing them, to heal them. A Mr. O. Bannion was also there, mortally wounded. I heard the following of the prisoners say he was in the fight, towit, Norman Shearer.

"I never heard Hiram Smith make any inflammatory remarks, but I have looked on him as one composing the first presidency;

acting in concert with Joseph Smith, Jun.; approving by his presence, acts, and conversations, the unlawful schemes of the presidency. I never saw Edward Partridge and Isaac Morley, two of the defendants, take any active part in the above massacres testified to by me; and I have heard Joseph Smith, Junior, say he considered Partridge a coward, and backward, and ought to be forced out. I was continually in the society or company of the presidency, receiving instructions from them as to the teachings of the Danite band; and I continually informed them of my teachings; and they were well apprised of my course and teachings in the Danite society.

"The following of the defendants were in the last expedition to Daviess county:

Joseph Smith, Jun.,
Hiram Smith,
P. P. Pratt,
Lyman Wight,
George W. Robertson,
Alison Ripley,
Washington Vories,
Jacob Gates,
George Grant,
Darwen Chase,
Maurice Phelps,
Moses Clawson,
Alexander McKay,
John S. Higby,
Ebenezer Page,
James M. Henderson,
Edward Partridge,
Francis Higbey,
Joseph W. Younger,
Henry Sabriskey (doubtful),
James H. Rawlins,
James Newberry (doubtful).

And further this deponent saith not.

(Signed) Sampson Avard."

CONTINUATION OF DIARY OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"The following witnesses were examined in behalf of the State, many of whom, if we may judge from their testimony, sworn upon the same principle as Avard, namely:

Wyatt Cravens,
Captain Samuel Bogart,
John Corrill,
George Walton,
James C. Owens,
Abner Scovell,
Reed Peck,
Wilborn Splawn,
John Raglin,
Jeremiah Myers,
Freeborn H. Gardner,
Elisha Camron,
Nehemiah Sale,
Morris Phelps,
Robert Snodgrass,
George M. Hinkle,
Nathaniel Carr,
John Cleminson,
James C. Owens, re-examined,
Thomas M. Odle,
Allen Rathburn,
Andrew F. Job,
Burr Riggs,
Charles Bleakley,

James Cobb,
Addison Price,
William W. Phelps,
James B. Turner,
Joseph H. McGee,
Porter Yale,
Eyra Williams,
John Taylor,
Patrick Lynch,
Jesse Kelly,
Samuel Kimball,
John Whitmer,
George W. Worthington,
John Lockhart,
Benjamin Slade,
Addison Green,
Timothy Lewis.

"We were called upon for our witnesses, and we gave the names of some forty or fifty. Captain Bogart was dispatched with a company of militia to procure them. Arrested all he could find, thrust them into prison, and we were not allowed to see them.

"We were again called upon most tauntingly for witnesses. We gave the names of some others, and they were also thrust into prison, so many as were to be found.

"In the meantime, Malinda Porter, Delia F. Pine, Nancy Rigdon, Jonathan W. Barlow, Thoret Parsons, Ezra Chipman and Arza Judd, Jr., volunteered and were sworn on the defense, but were prevented by threats from telling the truth as much as possible.

"We saw a man at the window by the name of Allen, and beckoned him to come in and had him sworn; but when he did not testify to please the court, several rushed upon him with their bayonets and he fled the place, and three men took after him with loaded guns, and he barely escaped with his life. It was of no use to get any more witnesses if we could have done it. Thus the mock investigation continued from day to day, till Saturday, when several of the brethren were discharged by Judge King, as follows:

"Defendants against whom nothing is proven, viz,:

Amasa Lyman,
Andrew Whitlock,
Jedediah Owens,
John T. Tanner,
Elisha Edwards,
David Frampton,
Allen J. Stout,
Silas Maynard,
John T. Earl,
James Newberry,
Chandler Holbrook,
William Allred,
John Buchanan,
Alvah L. Tippets,
Isaac Morley,
Daniel S. Thomas,
Benjamin Covey,
Henry Zabriski,
Sheffield Daniels,
Anthony Head,
Ebenezer Brown,
Sylvester Hulet,
Martin Allred.

"The above defendants were discharged by me, there being no evidence against them.

Austin A. King, Judge, etc."

November 24, 1838.

"Our church organization was converted by the testimony of the appostates into a temporal kingdom which was to fill the whole earth and subdue all other kingdoms.

"Much was inquired by the Judge (who by the by, was a Methodist) concerning the prophecy of Daniel, 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall break in pieces all other kingdoms, and stand forever,' etc.; 'and the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heavens, shall be given to the saints of the Most High,' etc., just as though it was treason to believe the Bible.

"The remaining prisoners were all released, or admitted to bail, except:

Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin,
Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae,
Sidney Rigdon and myself, (Joseph Smith, Jr.),

who were sent to Liberty, Clay county, to jail, to stand our trial for treason and murder—the treason for having whipped the mob out of Daviess county and taking their cannon from them; and the murder for the man killed in the Bogart battle; also

Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps,
Laman Gibbs, Darwin Chase,
Norman Shearer,

who were put into Richmond jail to stand their trial for the same crimes.

"During the investigation, we were mostly confined in chains and received much abuse.

"The matter of driving away witnesses, or casting them into prison, or chasing them out of the country, was carried to such a length that our lawyers, General Doniphan and Amos Reese told us not to bring our witnesses there at all; for if we did there would not be one of them left for final trial; for no sooner would Bogart and his men know who they were than they would put them out of the country.

"As to making any impression on King, if a cohort of angels were to come down and declare we were clear, Doniphan said it would be all the same; for he (King) had determined from the beginning to cast us into prison.

"We never got the privilege of introducing our witnesses at all; if we had, we could have disproved all they swore." (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 539, 556, 558, 565).

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO; AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.*

BY JOHN N. EDWARDS.

AUTHOR OF "SHELBY AND HIS MEN," ETC.

FIRST ARTICLE. (REPRINT.)

In the military annals of Missouri two expeditions are unique: Doniphan's Expedition to Mexico in the '40's and Shelby's Expedition to Mexico in the '60's. Both consisted of the same people, Missourians; both were directed against the same people, Mexicans. The leaders of both expeditions were Kentuckians by nativity and Missourians by adoption. Thousands of miles of desert wastes and mountain fastnesses were traversed by each, fighting grimly against half savage foe and nature's weapons, starvation and sickness. Invaders they were but never exploiters. Feared rather than hated were these American men, for none denied them courage, honesty, and straight-dealing. Fighters every one, no odds appalled them on noon-day field or in midnight ambuscade. Fortunate were both expeditions in their annalists. John F. Hughes was the historian of Doniphan's force, John N. Edwards was the recorder of the deeds of Shelby's men. Edwards was a journalist *par excellence*, no Missouri writer has surpassed him in vivid descriptions. His account of *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico* has been long out of print. It is regarded by many as his best work. It is reported to have been written about 1866 while Major Edwards was with General Shelby in Mexico. Both author and subject, as well as the rarity and value of the book, have induced us to reproduce this work.—The Editor.

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SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO.

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

CHAPTER I.

They rode a troop of bearded men,
Rode two and two out from the town,
And some were blonde and some were brown,
And all as brave as Sioux; but when
From San Bennetto south the line
That bound them to the haunts of men
Was passed, and peace stood mute behind
And streamed a banner to the wind
The world knew not, there was a sign
Of awe, of silence, rear and van.
Men thought who never thought before;
I heard the clang and clash of steel,
From sword at hand or spur at heel,
And iron feet, but mothing more.
Some thought of Texas, some of Maine,
But more of rugged Tennessee—
Of scenes in Southern vales of wine,
And scenes in Northern hills of pine,
As scenes they might not meet again;
And one of Avon thought, and one
Thought of an isle beneath the sun,
And one of Rowley, on the Rhine,
And one turned sadly to the Spree.

Joaquin Miller.

What follows may read like a romance, it was the saddest reality this life could offer to many a poor fellow who now sleeps in a foreign and forgotten grave somewhere in the tropics—somewhere between the waters of the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean.

The American has ever been a wayward and a truant race. There are passions which seem to belong to them by some strange fatality of birth or blood. In every port, under all flags, upon every island, shipwrecked and stranded upon the barren or golden shores of adventure, Americans can be found, taking fate as it comes—a devil-may-care, reckless, good-natured, thrifty and yet thriftless race, loving nothing so well as their country except an enterprise full of wonder and peril. Board a merchant vessel in mid-ocean, and there is an American at the wheel. Steer clear of a lean, lank, rankish looking craft beating up from the windward towards Yucatan, and overboard as a greeting comes the full roll of an Anglo-Saxon voice, half-familiar and half-piratical. The angular features peer out from under *sombreros*, bronzed and brown though they may be, telling of faces seen somewhere about the cities—eager, questioning faces, a little sad at times, yet always stern enough for broil or battle. They cruise in the foreign rivers and rob on the foreign shores. Whatever is uppermost finds ready hands. No guerrillas are more daring than American guerrillas; the Church has no more remorseless despoilers; the women no more ardent and faithless lovers; the *haciendas* no more sturdy defenders; the wine cup no more devoted proselytes; the stranger armies no more heroic soldiers; and the stormy waves of restless emigration no more sinister waifs, tossed hither and thither, swearing in all tongues—rude, boisterous, dangersous in drink, ugly at cards, learning revolver-craft quickest and surest, and dying, as they love to die, game to the last.

Of such a race came all who had preceded the one thousand Confederates led by Shelby into Mexico. He found many of them there. Some he hung and some he recruited, the last possibly not the best.

The war in the Trans-Mississippi Department had been a holiday parade for some; a ceaseless battle and raid for others. Shelby's division of Missourians was the flower of this army. He had formed and fashioned it upon an ideal of his own. He had a maxim, borrowed from Napoleon without knowing it, which was: "Young men for war." Hence all that long list of boy heroes who died before maturity from Pocahontas, Arkansas, to Newtonia, Missouri—died in that last march of 1864—the stupidest, wildest, wantonest, wickedest march ever made by a General who had a voice like a lion and a spring like a guinea pig. Shelby did the fighting, or, rather, what he could of it. After Westport, eight hundred of these Missourians were buried in a night. The sun that set at Mine Creek set as well upon a torn and decimated division, bleeding at every step, but resolute and undaunted. That night the dead were not buried.

Newtonia came after—the last battle west of the Mississippi river. It was a prairie fight, stern, unforgiving, bloody beyond all comparison for the stakes at issue, fought far into the night, and won by him who had won so many before that he had forgotten to count them. Gen. Blunt is rich, alive, and a brave man and a happy man over in Kansas. He will bear testimony again, as he has often done before, that Shelby's fighting at Newtonia surpassed any he had ever seen. Blunt was a grim fighter himself, be it remembered, surpassed by none who ever held the border for the Union.

The retreat southward from Newtonia was a famine. The flour first gave out; then the meal, then the meat, then the medicines. The recruits suffered more in spirit than in flesh, and fell out by the wayside to die. The old soldiers cheered them all they could and tightened their own sabre belts. Hunger was part of *their* rations. The third day beyond the Arkansas river, hunger found an ally—small-pox. In cities and among civilized beings, this is fearful. Among soldiers, and, therefore, machines, it is but another name for death. They faced it as they would a line of battle, waiting for the word. That came in this wise: Shelby took every wagon he could lay his hands upon, took every blanket the dead men left, and improvised a hospital. While life lasted in him, a soldier was never abandoned. There was no shrinking; each detachment in detail mounted guard over the terrible *cortege*—protected it, camped with it, waited upon it, took its chances as it took its rest. Discipline and humanity fraternized. The weak hands on one were intertwined with the bronze hands of the other. Even amid the pestilence there was poetry.

The gaps made in the ranks were ghastly. Many whom the bullets had scarred and spared were buried far from soldierly bivouacs or battle-fields. War has these species of attacks, all the more overwhelming because of their inglorious tactics. Fever cannot be fought, nor that hideous leprosy which kills after it has defaced.

One day the end came, after much suffering, and heroism and devotion. A picture like this, however, is only painted that one may understand the superb organization of that division which was soon to be a tradition, a memory, a grim war spirit, a thing of gray and glory forevermore.

After the ill-starred expedition made to Missouri in 1864, the trans-Mississippi army went to sleep. It numbered about fifty-thousand soldiers, rank and file, and had French muskets, French cannon, French medicines, French ammunition, and French gold. Matamoras, Mexico, was a port the Government could not or did not blockade, and from one side of the river there came to it all manner of supplies, and from the other side all kinds and grades of cotton. This dethroned king had transferred its empire from the Carolinas to the Gulf, from the Tombigbee to the Rio Grande. It was a fugitive king, however, with a broken sceptre and a meretricious crown. Afterwards it was guillotined.

Gen. E. Kirby Smith was the Commander-in-Chief of this Department, who had under him as lieutenants, Generals John B. Magruder and Simon B. Buckner. Smith was a soldier turned exhorter. It is not known that he preached; he prayed, however, and his prayers, like the prayers of the wicked, availed nothing. Other generals in other parts of the army prayed, too, notably Stonewall Jackson, but between the two there was this difference: The first trusted to his prayers alone; the last to his prayers and his battalions. Faith is a fine thing in the parlor, but it never yet put grape-shot in an empty caisson, and pontoon bridges over a full-fed river.

As I have said, while the last act in the terrible drama was being performed east of the Mississippi river, all west of the Mississippi was asleep. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House awoke them. Months, however, before the last march Price had made into Missouri, Shelby had an interview with Smith. They talked of many things, but chiefly of the war. Said Smith:

"What would you do in this emergency, Shelby?"

"I would," was the quiet reply, "march every single soldier of my command into Missouri—infantry, artillery, cavalry, all; I would fight there and stay there. Do not deceive yourself. Lee is overpowered; Johnson is giving up county after county, full of our corn and wheat fields; Atlanta is in danger, and Atlanta furnishes the powder; the end approaches; a supreme effort is necessary; the eyes of the East are upon the West, and with fifty thousand soldiers such as yours you can seize St. Louis, hold it, fortify it, and cross over into Illinois. It would be a diversion, expanding into a campaign—a blow that had destiny in it."

Smith listened, smiled, felt a momentary enthusiasm, ended the interview, and, later, sent eight thousand cavalry under a leader who marched twelve miles a day and had a wagon train as long as the tail of Plantamour's comet.

With the news of Lee's surrender there came a great paralysis. What had before been only indifference was now death. The army was scattered throughout Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana, but in the presence of such a calamity it concentrated as if by intuition. Men have this feeling in common with animals, that imminent danger brings the first into masses, the last into herds. Buffalo fight in a circle; soldiers form square. Smith came up from Shreveport, Louisiana, to Marshall, Texas. Shelby went from Fulton, Arkansas, to the same place. Hither came also other Generals of note, such as Hawthorne, Buckner, Preston and Walker. Magruder tarried at Galveston, watching with quiet eyes a Federal fleet beating in from the Gulf. In addition to this fleet there were also transports blue with uniforms and black with soldiers. A wave of negro troops was about to inundate the department.

Some little re-action had begun to be manifested since the news of Appomattox. The soldiers, breaking away from the iron bands of a rigid discipline, had held meetings pleading against surrender. They knew Jefferson Davis was a fugitive, westward bound, and they knew Texas was filled to overflowing with all kinds of supplies and war munitions. In their simple hero faith they believed that the struggle could still be maintained. Thomas C. Reynolds was Governor of Missouri, and a truer and braver one never followed the funeral of a dead nation his commonwealth had revered and respected.

This Marshall Conference had a two-fold object: First, to ascertain the imminence of the danger, and, second, to provide against it. Strange things were done there. The old heads came to the young one; the infantry yielded its precedence to the cavalry; the Major-General asked advice of the Brigadier. There was no rank beyond that of daring and genius. A meeting was held, at which all were present except Gen. Smith. The night was a Southern one, full of balm, starlight and flower-odor. The bronzed men were gathered quietly and sat awhile, as Indians do who wish to smoke and go upon war-path. The most chivalrous scalplock that night was worn by Buckner. He seemed a real Red Jack in his war-paint and feathers. Alas! why was his tomahawk dug up at all? Before the ashes were cold about the embers of the council-fire, *it was buried.*

Shelby was called on to speak first, and if his speech astonished his auditors, they made no sign:

"The army has no confidence in Gen. Smith," he said, slowly and deliberately, "and for the movements proposed there must be chosen a leader whom they adore. We should concentrate everything upon the Brazos river. We must fight more and make fewer speeches. Fugitives from Lee and Johnson will join us by thousands; Mr. Davis is on his way here; he alone has the right to treat of surrender; our intercourse with the French is perfect, and fifty thousand men with arms in their hands have overthrown, ere now, a dynasty, and established a kingdom. Every step to the Rio Grande must be fought over, and when the last blow has been struck that can be struck, we will march into Mexico and reinstate Juarez or espouse Maximilan. General Preston should go at once to Marshal Bazaine and learn from him whether it is peace or war. Surrender is a word neither myself nor my division understand."

This bold speech had its effect.

"Who will lead us?" The listeners demanded.

"Who else but Buckner," answered Shelby. "He has rank, reputation, the confidence of the army, ambition, is a soldier of fortune, and will take his chances like the rest of us. Which one of us can read the future and tell the kind of an empire our swords may carve out?"

Buckner assented to the plan, so did Hawthorne, Walker, Preston and Reynolds. The compact was sealed with soldierly alacrity, each General answering for his command. But who was to inform General Smith of this sudden resolution—this semi-mutiny in the very whirl of the vortex?

Again it was Shelby, the daring and impetuous.

"Since there is some sorrow about this thing, gentlemen," he said, "and since men who mean business must have boldness, I will ask the honor of presenting this ultimatum to General Smith. It is some good leagues to the Brazos, and we must needs make haste. I shall march tomorrow to the nearest enemy and attack him. Have no fear. If I do not overthrow him I will keep him long enough at bay to give time for the movement southward."

Immediately after the separation, Gen. Shelby called upon Gen. Smith. There were scant words between them.

"The army has lost confidence in you, Gen. Smith."

"I know it."

"They do not wish to surrender."

"Nor do I. What would the army have?"

"Your withdrawl as its direct commander, the appointment of Gen. Buckner as its chief, its concentration upon the Brazos river, and war to the knife, Gen. Smith."

The astonished man rested his head upon his hands in mute surprise. A shadow of pain passed rapidly over his face, and he gazed out through the night as one who was seeking a star or beacon for a guidance. Then he arose as if in pain and came some steps nearer the young conspirator, whose cold, calm eyes had never wavered through it all.

"What do you advise, Gen. Shelby?"

"Instant acquiescence."

The order was written, the command of the army was given to Buckner, Gen. Smith returned to Shreveport, each officer galloped off to his troops, and the first act in the revolution had been finished. The next was played before a different audience and in another theatre.

CHAPTER II.

Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner was a soldier handsome enough to have been Murat. His uniform was resplendent. Silver stars glittered upon his coat, his gold lace shone as if it had been washed by the dew and wiped with the sunshine, his sword was equaled only in brightness by the brightness of its scabbard, and when upon the streets women turned to look at him, saying, "That is a hero with a form like a war-god." Gen. Buckner also wrote poetry. Some of his sonnets were set to music in scanty Confederate fashion, and when the red June roses were all ablow, and the night at peace with bloom and blossom, they would float out from open casements as the songs of ministrel or troubadour. Sir Philip Sidney was also a poet who saved the English army at Gravelines, and though mortally wounded and dying of thirst, he bade his esquire give to a suffering comrade the water brought to cool his own parched lips. From all of which it was argued that the march to the Brazos would be but as the calm before the hurricane—that in the crisis the American poet would have devotion equal to the English poet. From the Marshall Conference to the present time, however, the sky has been without a war cloud, the lazy cattle have multiplied by all the water-course, and from pink to white the cotton has bloomed, and blown, and been harvested.

Before Shelby reached his division away up on the prairies about Kaufman, news came that Smith had resumed command of the army, and that a flag of truce boat was ascending Red river to Shreveport. This meant surrender. Men whose *rendezvous* has been agreed upon, and whose campaigns have been marked out, had no business with flags of truce. By the end of the next day's march Smith's order of surrender came. It was very brief and very comprehensive. The soldiers were to be concentrated at Shreveport, were to surrender their arms and munitions of war, were to take paroles and transportation wherever the good Federal diety in command happened to think appropriate.

What of Buckner with his solemn promises, his recent conferred authority, his elegant new uniform, his burnished sword with its burnished scabbard, his sweet little sonnets, luscious as strawberries, his swart, soldierly face, handsome enough again for Murat? Thinking of his Chicago property, and contemplating the mournful fact of having been chosen to surrender the first and the last army of the Confederacy.

Smith's heart failed him when the crisis came. Buckner's heart was never fired at all. All their hearts failed them except the Missouri Governor's and the Missouri General's, and so the Brazos ran on to the sea without having watered a cavalry steed or reflected the gleam of a burnished bayonet. In the meantime, however, Preston was well on his way to Mexico. Later, it will be seen how Bazaine received him, and what manner of a conversation he had with the Emperor Maximilan touching Shelby's scheme at the Marshall Conference.

Two plans presented themselves to Shelby the instant the news came of Smith's surrender. The first was to throw his division upon Shreveport by forced marches, seize the government, appeal to the army, and then carry out the original order of concentration. The second was to make all surrender impossible by attacking the Federal forces, wherever and whenever he could find them. To resolve with him was to execute. He wrote a proclamation destined for the soldiers, and for want of better material, had it printed upon wall paper. It was a variegated thing, all blue, and black and red, and unique as a circus advertisement.

"Soldiers, you have been betrayed. The generals whom you trusted have refused to lead you. Let us begin the battle again by a revolution. Lift up the flag that has been cast down dishonored. Unsheath the sword that it may remain unsullied and victorious. If you desire it, I will lead; if you demand it, I will follow. We are the army and the cause. To talk of surrender is to be a traitor. Let us seize the traitors and attack the enemy. Forward, for the South and Liberty!"

Man proposes and God disposes. A rain came out of the sky that was an inundation even for Texas. All the bridges in the west were swept away in a night. The swamps that had been dry land rose against the saddle girths. There were no roads, nor any spot of earth for miles and miles dry enough for a bivouac. Sleepless and undismayed, the brown-bearded, bronzed Missourian toiled on, his restless eyes fixed on Shreveport. There the drama was being enacted he had struggled like a giant to prevent; there division after division marched in, stacked their arms, took their paroles, and were disbanded. When, by superhuman exertions, his command had forced itself through from Kaufman to Corsicana, the fugitives began to arrive. Smith had again surrendered to Buckner, and Buckner in turn had surrendered to the United States. It was useless to go forward. If you attack the Federals, they pleaded, you will imperil our unarmed soldiers. It was not their fault. Do not hold them responsible for the sins of their officers. They were faithful to the last, and even in their betrayal they were true to their colors.

Against such appeals there was no answer. The hour for a *coupe d'etat* had passed, and from a revolutionist Shelby was about to become an exile. Even in the bitterness of his overthrow he was grand. He had been talking to uniformed things, full of glitter, and varnish, and gold lace, and measured intonations of speech that sounded like the talk stately heroes have, but they were all clay and carpet-knights. Smith faltered, Buckner faltered, other Generals, not so gay and gaudy, faltered; they all faltered. If war had been a woman, winning as Cleopatra, with kingdoms for caresses, the lips that sang sonnets would never have kissed her. After the smoke cleared away, only Shelby and Reynolds stood still in the desert—the past a Dead Sea behind them, the future, what—the dark?

One more duty remained to be done. The sun shone, the waters had subsided, the grasses were green and undulating, and Shelby's Missouri Cavalry Division came forth from its bivouac for the last time. A call ran down its ranks for volunteers for Mexico. One thousand bronzed soldiers rode fair to the front, over them the old barred banner, worn now, and torn, and well nigh abandoned. Two and two they ranged themselves behind their leader, waiting.

The good-byes and the partings followed. There is no need to record them here. Peace and war have no road in common. Along the pathway of one there are roses and thorns; along the pathway of the other there are many thorns, with a sprig or two of laurel when all is done. Shelby chose the last and marched away with his one thousand men behind him. That night he camped over beyond Corsicana, for some certain preparations had to be made, and some valuable war munitions had to be gathered in.

Texas was as a vast arsenal. Magnificent batteries of French artillery stood abandoned upon the prairies. Those who surrendered them took the horses but left the guns. Imported muskets were in all the towns, and to fixed ammunition there was no limit. Ten beautiful Napoleon guns were brought into camp and appropriated. Each gun had six magnificent horses, and six hundred rounds of shell and canister. Those who were about to encounter the unknown began by preparing for giants. A complete organization was next effected. An election was held in due and formal manner, and Shelby was chosen Colonel with a shout. He had received every vote in the regiment except his own. Misfortunes at least make men unanimous. The election of the companies came next. Some who had been majors came down to corporals, and more who had been lieutenants went up to majors. Rank had only this rivalry there, the rivalry of self-sacrifice. From the colonel to the rearmost men in the rearmost file, it was a forest of Sharp's carbines. Each carbine had, in addition to the forty rounds the soldiers carried, three hundred rounds more in the wagon train. Four Colt's pistols each, dragoon size, and a heavy regulation sabre, completed the equipment. For the revolvers there were ten thousand rounds apiece. Nor was this all. In the wagons there were powder, lead, bullet-moulds, and six thousand elegant new Enfields just landed from England, with the brand of the Queen's arms still upon them. Recruits were expected, and nothing pleases a recruit so well as a bright new musket, good for a thousand yards.

For all these heavy war materials much transportation was necessary. It could be had for the asking. Gen. Smith's dissolving army, under the terms of the surrender, was to give up everything. And so they did, right willingly. Shelby took it back again, or at least what was needed. The march would be long, and he meant to make it honorable, and therefore, in addition to the horses, the mules, the cannon, the wagons, the fixed ammunition, and the muskets, Shelby took flour and bacon. The quantities were limited entirely by the anticipated demand, and for the first time in its history the Confederacy was lavish of its commissary stores.

When all these things were done and well done—these preparations—these tearings down and buildings up—these re-organizations and re-habilitations—this last supreme restoration of the equilibrium of rank and position, a council of war was called. The old ardor of battle was not yet subdued in the breast of the leader. Playfully calling his old soldiers young recruits, he wanted as a kind of purifying process, to carry them into battle.

The council fire was no larger than an Indian's and around it were grouped Elliot, Gordon, Slayback, Williams, Collins, Langhorne, Crisp, Jackman, Blackwell, and a host of others who had discussed weighty questions before upon eve of battle—questions that had men's lives in them as thick as sentences in a school book.

"Before we march southward," said Shelby, "I thought we might try the range of our new Napoleons."

No answer, save that quiet look one soldier gives to another when the firing begins on the skirmish line.

"There is a great gathering of Federals at Shreveport, and a good blow in that direction might clear up the military horizon amazingly."

No answer yet. They all knew what was coming, however.

"We might find hands, too," and here his voice was wistful and pleading; "We might find hands for our six thousand bright new Enfields. What do you say, comrades?"

They consulted some little time together and then took a vote upon the proposition whether, in view of the fact that there were a large number of unarmed Confederates at Shreveport awaiting transportation, it would be better to attack or not to attack. It was decided against the proposition, and without further discussion, the enterprise was abandoned. These last days of the division were its best. For a week it remained preparing for the long and perilous march—a week full of the last generous rites brave men could pay to a dead cause. Some returning and disbanded soldiers were tempted at times to levy contributions upon the country through which they passed, and at times to do some cowardly work under cover of darkness and drink. Shelby's stern orders arrested them in the act, and his swift punishment left a shield over the neighborhood that needed only its shadow to ensure safety. The women blessed him for his many good deeds done in those last dark days—deeds that shine out yet from the black wreck of things—a star.

This kind of occupation ended at last, however, and the column marched away southward. One man alone knew French and they were going to a land filled full of Frenchmen. One man alone knew Spanish, and they were going to the land of the Spaniards. The first only knew the French of the schools which was no French; and the last had been bitten by a tawny tarantula of a senorita somewhere up in Sonora, and was worthless and valueless when most needed in the ranks that had guarded and protected him.

Before reaching Austin a terrible tragedy was enacted—one of those sudden and bloody things so thoroughly in keeping with the desperate nature of the men who witnessed it. Two officers—one a Captain and one a Lieutenant—quarreled about a woman, a fair young thing enough, lissome and light of love. She was the Captain's by right of discovery, the Lieutenant's by right of conquest. At the night encampment she abandoned the old love for the new, and in the struggle for possession the Captain struck the Lieutenant fair in the face.

"You have done a serious thing," some comrade said to him.

"It will be more serious in the morning," was the quiet reply.

"But you are in the wrong and you should apologize."

He tapped the handle of his revolver significantly, and made answer.

"This must finish what the blow has commenced. A woman worth kissing is worth fighting for.

I do not mention names. There are those to-day living in Marion county whose sleep in eternity will be lighter and sweeter if they are left in ignorance of how one fair-haired boy died who went forth to fight battles of the South and found a grave when *her* battles were ended.

The Lieutenant challenged the Captain, but the question of its acceptance was decided even before the challenge was received. These were the terms: At daylight the principals were to meet one mile from the camp upon the prairie, armed each with a revolver and a saber. They were to be mounted and stationed twenty paces apart, back to back. At the word they were to wheel and fire advancing if they chose or remaining stationary if they chose. In no event were they to pass beyond a line two hundred yards in the rear of each position. This space was accorded as that in which the combatants might rein up and return again to the attack.

So secret were the preparations, and so sacred the honor of the two men, that, although the difficulty was known to three hundred soldiers, not one of them informed Shelby. He would have instantly arrested the principals and forced a compromise, as he had done once before under circumstances as urgent but in no ways similar.

It was a beautiful morning, all balm, and bloom and verdure. There was not wind enough to shake the sparkling dew drops from the grass—not wind enough to lift breast high the heavy odor of the flowers. The face of the sky was placid and benignant. Some red like a blush shone in the east, and some clouds, airy and gossamer, floated away to the west. Some birds sang, too, hushed and far apart. Two and two, and in groups, men stole away from the camp and ranged themselves on either flank. A few rude jokes were heard, but they died out quickly as the combatants rode up to the dead line. Both were calm and cool, and on the Captain's face there was a half smile. Poor fellow, there were already the scars of three honorable wounds upon his body. The fourth would be his death wound.

They were placed, and sat their horses like men who are about to charge. Each head was turned a little to one side, the feet rested lightly in the stirrups, the left hands grasped the reins well gathered up, the right hands held the deadly pistols, loaded fresh an hour before.

"Ready—*wheel!*" The trained steeds turned upon a pivot as one steed.

"Fire!"

The Lieutenant never moved from his tracks. The Captain dashed down upon him at a full gallop, firing as he came on. Three chambers were emptied, and three bullets sped away over the prairie, harmless. Before the fourth fire was given the Captain was abreast of the Lieutenant, and aiming at him at deadly range. Too late! The Lieutenant threw out his pistol until the muzzle almost touched the Captain's hair, and fired. The mad horse dashed away riderless, the Captain's life-blood upon his trappings and his glossy hide. There was a face in the grass, a widowed woman in Missouri, and a soul somewhere in the white hush and waste of eternity. A great dragoon ball had gone directly through his brain, and the Captain was dead before he touched the ground. They buried him before the sun rose, before the dew was dried upon the grass that grew upon his premature and bloody grave. There was no epitaph, yet this might have been lifted there, ere the grim soldiers marched away again to the South:

"Ah, soldier, to your honored rest,
Your truth and valor bearing;
The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring."

CHAPTER III.

At Houston, Texas, there was a vast depot of supplies filled with all kinds of quartermaster and commissary stores. Shelby desired that the women and children of *true* soldiers should have such of these as would be useful or beneficial, and so issued his orders. These were disputed by a thousand or so refugees or renegades whose heads were beginning to be lifted up everywhere as soon as the last mutterings of the war storm were heard in the distance.

He called to him two Captains—James Meadow and James Wood—two men known of old as soldiers fit for any strife. The first is a farmer now in Jackson—the last a farmer in Pettis—both young, brave, worthy of all good luck or fortune.

They came speedily—they saluted and waited for orders.

Shelby said:

"Take one hundred men and march quickly to Houston. Gallop oftener than you trot. Proclaim to the Confederate women that on a certain day you will distribute to them whatever of cloth, flour, bacon, medicines, clothing, or other supplies they may need, or that are in store. Hold the town until that day, and then obey my orders to the letter."

"But if we are attacked?"

"Don't wait for that. Attack first."

"And fire ball cartridges?"

"And fire nothing else. Bullets first—speeches afterwards."

They galloped away to Houston. Two thousand greedy and clamorous ruffians were besieging the warehouses. They had not fought for Texas and not one dollar's worth of Texas property should they have. Wood and Meadow drew up in front of them.

"Disperse!" they ordered.

Wild, vicious eyes glared out upon them from the mass, red and swollen by drink. They had rifled an arsenal, too, and all had muskets and cartridges.

"After we have seen what's inside this building, and taken what's best for us to take," the leader answered, "we will disperse. The war's over, young fellows, and the strongest party takes the plunder. Do you understand our logic?"

"Perfectly," replied Wood, as cool as a grenadier, "and it's bad logic, if you were a Confederate, good logic if you are a thief. Let *me* talk a little. We are Missourians, we are leaving Texas, we have no homes, but we have our orders and our honor. Not so much as one percussion cap shall you take from this house until you bring a written order from Jo. Shelby, and one of Shelby's men along with you to prove that you did not forge that order. Do you understand *my* logic?"

They understood him well, and they understood better the one hundred stern soldiers drawn up ten paces to the rear, with eyes to the front and revolvers drawn. Shrill voices from the outside of the crowd urged those nearest to the detachment to fire, but no weapon was presented. Such was the terror of Shelby's name, and such the reputation of his men for prowess, that not a robber stirred. By and by, from the rear, they began to drop away one by one, then in squads of tens and twenties, until, before an hour, the streets of Houston were as quiet and as peaceful as the cattle upon the prairies. These two determined young officers obeyed their instructions and rejoined their general.

Similar scenes were enacted at Tyler and Waxahatchie. At the first of these places was an arsenal guarded by Colonel Blackwell, and a small detachment consisting of squads under Captain Ward, Cordell, Rudd, Kirtley and Neale. They were surrounded in the night time by a furious crowd of mountain plunderers and shirking conscrips—men who had dodged both armies or deserted both. They wanted guns to begin the war on their neighbors after the real war was over.

"You can't have any," said Blackwell.

"We will take them."

"Come and do it. These are Shelby's soldiers, and they don't know what being taken means. Pray teach it to us."

This irony was had in the darkness, be it remembered, and in the midst of seven hundred desperate deer-hunters and marauders who had baffled all the efforts of the regular authorities to capture them. Blackwell's detachment numbered thirty-eight. And now a deed was done that terrified the boldest in all that band grouped together in the darkness, and waiting to spring upon the little handful of devoted soldiers, true to that country which no longer had either thanks or praise to bestow. James Kirtley, James Rudd, Samuel Downing and Albert Jeffries seized each a keg of powder and advanced in front of the arsenal some fifty paces, leaving behind them from the entrance a dark and ominous train. Where the halt was had a little heap of powder was placed upon the ground, and upon each heap was placed a keg, the hole downwards, or connected with the heap upon the ground. The mass of marauders surged back as if the earth had opened at their very feet.

"What do you mean?" they yelled.

"To blow you into hell," was Kirtley's quiet reply, "if you're within range while we are eating our supper. We have ridden thirty miles, we have good consciences, and therefore we are hungry. Good night!" And the reckless soldiers went back singing. One spark would have half demolished the town. A great awe fell upon the clamoring hundreds, and they precipitatedly fled from the deadly spot, not a skulker among them remaining until daylight.

At Waxahatchie it was worse. Here Maurice Langhorne kept guard. Langhorne was a Methodist turned soldier. He publishes a paper now in Independence, harder work, perhaps, than soldiering. Far be it from the author to say that the young Captain ever fell from grace. His oaths were few and far between, and not the great strapping oaths of the Baptists or the Presbyterians. They adorned themselves with black kids and white neckties, and sometimes fell upon their knees. Yet Langhorne was always orthodox. His pistol practice was superb. During his whole five years' service he never missed his man.

He held Waxahatchie with such soldiers as John Kritzer, Martin Kritzer, Jim Crow Childs, Bud Pitcher, Cochran, and a dozen others. He was surrounded by a furious mob who clamored for admittance into the building where the stores were.

"Go away," said Langhorne mildly. His voice was soft enough for a preacher's, his looks bad enough for a backslider.

They fired on him a close, hot volley. Wild work followed, for with such men how could it be otherwise? No matter who fell nor the number of the dead and dying, Langhorne held the town that night, the day following, and the next night. There was no more mob. A deep peace came to the neighborhood, and as he rode away there were many true brave Confederates who came to his little band and blessed them for what had been done. In such guise did these last acts of Shelby array themselves. Scorning all who in the name of soldiers plundered the soldiers, he left a record behind him which, even to this day, has men and women to rise up and call it noble.

After Houston, and Tyler, and Waxahatchie, came Austin. The march had become to be an ovation. Citizens thronged the roads, bringing with them refreshments and good cheer. No soldier could pay for anything. Those who had begun by condemning Shelby's stern treatment of the mob, ended by upholding him.

Governor Murrah, of Texas, still remained at the capital of his State. He had been dying for a year. All those insidious and deceptive approaches of consumption were seen in the hectic cheeks, the large, mournful eyes, the tall, bent frame that quivered as it moved. Murrah was a gifted and brilliant man, but his heart was broken. In his life there was the memory of an unblessed and an unhallowed love, too deep for human sympathy, too sad and passionate for tears. He knew death was near to him, yet he put on his old gray uniform, and mounted his old, tried war-horse, and rode away dying to Mexico. Later, in Monterey, the red in his cheeks had burned itself out. The crimson had turned to ashen gray. He was dead with his uniform around him.

The Confederate government had a sub-treasury in Austin, in the vaults of which were three hundred thousand dollars in gold and silver. Operating about the city was a company of notorious guerillas, led by a Captain Rabb, half ranchero and half freebooter. It was pleasant pasturage over beyond the Colorado River, and thither the Regiment went, for it had marched far, and it was weary. Loitering late for wine and wassail, many soldiers halted in the streets and tarried till the night came—a misty, cloudy, ominous night, full of darkness and dashes of rain.

Suddenly a tremendous battering arose from the iron doors of the vaults in the State House where the money was kept. Silent horsemen galloped to and fro through the gloom; the bells of the churches were rung furiously; a home guard company mustered at their armory to the beat of the long roll and from beyond the Colorado there arose on the night air the full, resonant blare of Shelby's bugle sounding the well-known rallying call. In some few brief moments more the head of a solid column, four deep, galloped into the Square, reporting for duty to the Mayor of the city—a maimed soldier of Lee's army. Ward led them.

"They are battering down the treasury doors," said the Mayor.

"I should think so," replied Ward. "Iron and steel must soon give way before such blows. What would you have?"

"The safety of the treasure."

"Forward, men!" and the detachment went off at a trot and in through the great gate leading to the Capitol. It was surrounded. The blows continued. Lights shone through all the windows; there were men inside gorging themselves with gold. No questions were asked. A sudden, pitiless jet of flame spurted out from two score of Sharps' carbines; there was the sound of falling men on the echoing floor, and then a great darkness. From out the smoke, and gloom, and shivered glass, and scattered eagles, they dragged the victims forth—dying, bleeding, dead. One among the rest, a great-framed, giant man, had a king's ransom about his person. He had taken off his pantaloons, tied a string around each leg at the bottom and had filled them. An epicure even in death, he had discarded the silver. These white heaps, like a wave, had inundated the room, more precious to fugitive men than food or raiment. Not a dollar was touched, and a stern guard took his post, as immutable as fate, by the silver heaps and the blood puddles. In walking his beat this blood splashed him to the knees.

Now this money was money of the Confederacy, it belonged to her soldiers, they should have taken it and divided it per capita. They did not do this because of this remark. Said Shelby when they appealed to him to take it as a right:

"I went into the war with clean hands, and by God's blessing, I will go out of the war with clean hands."

After that they would have starved before touching a silver picayune.

Ere marching the next morning, however, Murrah came to Shelby and insisted that as his command was the last organized body of Confederates in Texas, that as they were on the eve of abandoning the country, he should take this Confederate property just as he had taken the cannon and the muskets. The temptation was strong, and the arguments were strong, but he never wavered. He knew what the world would say, and he dreaded its malice. Not for himself, however, but for the sake of the nation he had loved and fought so hard to establish.

"We are the last of the race," he said, a little regretfully, "but let us be the best as well."

And so he turned his back upon the treasury and its gold, penniless. His soldiers were ragged, without money, exiles, and yet at his bidding they set their faces as iron against the heaps of silver, and the broken doors of the treasury vaults, and rode on into the South.

When the line of demarkation was so clearly drawn between what was supposed, and what was intended—when, indeed, Shelby's line of march was so straight and so steadfast as to no longer leave his destination in doubt, fugitives began to seek shelter uder his flag and within the grim ranks of his veterans. Ex-Governor and Ex-Senator Trusten Polk was one of these. He, like the rest, was homeless and penniless, and joined his fortune to the fortunes of those who had just left three hundred thousand dollars in specie in Austin. From all of which Trusten Polk might have argued:

"These fellows will carry me through, but they will find for me no gold or silver mines."

Somewhere in the State were other fugitives struggling to reach Shelby—fugitive Generals, Governors, Congressmen

Cabinet officers, men who imagined that the whole power of the United States Government was bent upon their capture. Smith was making his way to Mexico, so was Magruder, Reynolds, Parsons, Standish, Conrow, General Lyon of Kentucky, Flournoy, Terrell, Clark and Snead of Texas; General John B. Clark, Sr., General Prevost of Louisiana; Governor Henry W. Allen, Commodore M. F. Maury, General Bee, General Oscar Watkins, Colonel Wm. M. Broadwell, Colonel Peter B. Wilks, and a host of others, equally determined on flight and equally out at elbows. Of money they had scarcely fifty dollars to the man. Magruder brought his superb spirits and his soldierly heart for every fate; Reynolds, his elegant cultivation and his cool, indomitable courage; Smith, his useless repinings and his rigid West Point courtesy; Allen, his electric enthusiasm and his abounding belief in providence; Maury, his learning and his foreign decorations; Clark, his inimitable drollery and his broad Southern humor; Prevost, his French gallantry and wit; Broadwell, his generosity and his speculative views of the future; Bee, his theories of isothermal lines and cotton planting; and Parsons, and Standish and Conrow the shadow of a great darkness that was soon to envelop them as in a cloud—the darkness of bloody and premature graves.

The command was within three days' march of San Antonio. As it approached Mexico, the grass gave place to mesquite—the wide, undulating prairies to matted and impenetrable stretches of chapparal. All the rigid requirements of war had been carried out—the picquet guard, the camp guard, the advanced posts, and the outlying scouts, aimless and objectless, apparently, but full of daring, cunning and guile.

Pasturage was scarce this night, and from water to grass was two good miles. The artillery and commissary teams needed to be fed, and so a strong guard was sent with them to the grazing place. They were magnificent animals all, fat and fine enough to put bad thoughts in the fierce natures of the cow-boys—an indigenous Texas growth—and the unruly borderers.

They had been gone an hour, and the sad roll of tattoo had floated away on the night air. A scout—Martin Kritzer—rode rapidly up to Shelby and dismounted.

He was dusty and tired, and had ridden far and fast. As a soldier, he was all iron; as a scout, all intelligence; as a sentinel, unacquainted with sleep.

"Well, Martin," his General said.

"They are after the horses," was the sententious reply.

"What horses?"

"Those of the artillery."

"Why do they want them?"

The cavalry soldier looked at his General in surprise. It was the first time in his life he had ever lost confidence in him. Such a question from such a source was more than he could well understand. He repeated slowly, a look of honest credulity on his bronzed face:

"Why do they want them—Well, because they are fine, fat, trained in the harness, scarce to find, and worth half their weight in gold. Are these reasons enough?"

Shelby did not reply. He ordered Langhorne to report to him. He came up as he always came, smiling.

"Take fifty men," were the curt instructions, "and station them a good half mile in front of the pasturing place. There must be no bullets dropping in among our stock, and they must have plenty of grass room. You were on duty last night, I believe."

"Yes, General."

"And did not sleep?"

"No, General."

"Nor will you sleep to-night. Station the men, I say, and then station yourself at the head of them. You will hear a noise in the night—late in the night—and presently a dark body of horsemen will march up, fair to see between the grass and the sky-line. You need not halt them. When the range gets good fire and charge. Do you understand?"

"Perfectly."

In an hour Langhorne was at his post, silent as fate and terrible, couching there in his lair, with fifty good carbines behind him. About midnight a low lote like thunder sprang up from towards San Antonio. The keen ear of the practiced soldier took in its meaning, as a sailor might the speech of the sea.

"Get ready—they are coming."

The indolent forms lifted themselves up from the great shadow of the earth. When they were still again they were mounted.

The thunder grew louder. What had before been noises was now shape and substance. Seventy-eight border men were riding down to raid the herders.

"Are you all loaded?" Asked Langhorne.

"All. Have been for four years."

From the mass in front plain figures evolved themselves. Under the stars their gun-barrels shone.

"They have guns" sneered Langhorne, "but no scouts in front. What would Old Joe say to that?"

"He would dismount them and send them to the infantry," laughed John Kritzer.

The leading files were within fifty yards—near enough for a volley. They had not heard this grim by-play, rendered under the night and to the ears of an unseen death crouching in the prairie grass.

"Make ready!" Langhorne's voice had a gentleness in it, soft as a caress. The Methodist had turned lover.

Fifty dark muzzles crept out to the front, and waited there, gaping.

"Take aim!" The softest things are said in whispers. The Methodist was about to deliver the benediction.

"Fire!"

A red cleft in the heart of the midnight—a murky shroud of dun and dark that smelt of sulphur—a sudden uprearing of staggering steeds and staggering riders—a wild, pitiful panic of spectres who had encountered the unknown—and fifty terrible men dashed down to the charge. Why follow the deadly work under the sky and the stars. It was providence fulfilling a vow—fate restoring the equilibrium of justice—justice vindicating the supremacy of its immortal logic. Those who came to rob had been a scourge more dreaded than the pestilence—more insatiate than a famine. Defying alike civil and martial law, they had preyed alternately upon the people and the soldiers. They were desperadoes and marauders of the worst type, feared and hated or both. Beyond a few scattering shots, fired by the boldest of them in retreat, they made no fight. The dead were not buried. As the regiment moved on toward San Antonio, thirty-nine could have been counted lying out in the grass—booted and spurred, and awaiting the Judgment Day.

CHAPTER IV.

San Antonio, in the full drift of the tide which flowed in from Mexico, was first an island and afterwards an oasis. To the hungry and war-worn soldiers of SHELBY'S expedition it was a Paradise. Mingo, the unparalleled host of Mingo's Hotel, was the guardian angel, but there was no terror in his looks, not any flaming sword in his hand. Here, everything that European markets could afford, was found in abundance. Cotton, magnificent even in its overthrow, had chosen this last spot as the city of its refuge and its caresses. Fugitive Generals had gathered here, and fugitive Senators, and fugitive Governors, and fugitive desperadoes, as well, men sententious of speech and quick of pistol practice. These last had taken immediate possession of the city, and were rioting in the old royal fashion, sitting in the laps of courtesans and drinking wines fresh through the blockade from France. Those passers-by who jeered at them as they went to and fro received a fusillade for their folly. Seven even had been killed—seven good Texas soldiers—and a great fear had fallen upon the place, this antique, half-Mexican city which had been Fannin's new Thermopylae, and the black Spanish death-flag wind itself up into the Alamo. When the smoke had cleared away and the powder-pall had been lifted, the black had become crimson.

First a speck and then a vulture, until the streets had become dangerous with desperadoes. They had plundered a dozen stores, had sacked and burnt a commissary train, had levied a *prestamo* upon the citizens, and had gone one night to "smoke out Tom Hindman," in their rough border dialect. Less fortunate than Putnam, they found the wolf's den, and the wolf was within, but he showed his teeth and made fight. They hammered at his door furiously. A soft, musical voice called out:

"What do you want?"

Hindman was a small man, having the will and the courage of a Highlander. Eloquent of speech, cool, a colloquial swordsman whose steel had poison on it from point to hilt, audacious in plot, imperturbable in *finesse*, grayeyed, proud at times to isolation, unsuccessful in the field, and incomparable in the cabinet, it was this manner of a man who had called out from behind his barricade.

The leader of the attacking party answered him:

"It is said that you have dealt in cotton, that you have gold, that you are leaving the country. We have come for the gold—that is all."

"Indeed!" and the soft voice was strangely harsh and guttural now. "Then, since you have come for the gold, suppose you take the gold. In the absence of all law, might makes right."

He spoke to them not another word that night, but no man advanced to the attack upon the building, and when the daylight came, Shelby was in possession of the city. A deputation of citizens had traveled twenty miles that day to his camp, and besought him to hasten forward, that their lives and their property might be saved. The camp was in deep sleep, for the soldiers had traveled far, but they mustered to the shrill bugle call, and rode on through the long night afterwards, for honor and for duty.

Discipline is a stern, chaste queen—beautiful at times as Semiramis, ferocious as Medea. Her hands are those of the priest and the executioner. They excommunicate, which is a bandage over the eyes and a platoon of musketry; they make the sign of the cross, which is the acquittal of a drum-head court-martial. Most generally the excommunications outnumber the genuflections.

D. A. Williams did provost duty on one side of the river, A. W. Slayback upon the other. What slipped through the hands of the first fell into those of the last. What escaped both, fell into the water. Some men are born to be shot, some to be hung, and some to be drowned. Even desperadoes have this fatality in common with the Christians, and thus in the ranks of the plunderers there is predestination. Peace came upon the city as the balm of a southeast trade-wind, and after the occupation there was an ovation. Women walked forth as if to a festival. The Plaza transformed itself into a *parterre*. Roses bloomed in the manes of the horses—these were exotic; roses bloomed in the faces of the maidens—these were divine. After Cannae there was Capua. Shelby had read of Hannibal, and Carthagenian, and had seen Hannibal the elephant, and so in his mind there was no more comparison between the battle and the town than there was between the man and the animal. He would rest a ittle; much, many glad and sunshiny days, filled full of dalliance, and dancing, and music.

Mingo's Hotel from a cloister had become to be a cantonment. It was noisy like a hive, vocal like a morning in May. Serenading parties improvised themselves. Jake Connor lead them, an artillery officer, who sang like Mario and fought like Victor Emmanuel. In his extremes he was Italian. On the edge of all this languor and love, discipline, like a fringe, arrayed itself. Patrols paraded the streets, made time, and in the midst of a flood of defeat, disaster, greed, overthrow, and rending asunder, there was one ark which floated hither and thither, armed in a fashion unknown to Noah, bearing a strange barred banner at the fore—the

Banner of the Bars. When its Ararat was found there was no longer any more Ark.

On the evening of the second day of occupation, an ambulance drew up in front of the Mingo House. Besides the driver, there alighted an old man, aged, bent, spent with fatigue, and dusty as a foot soldier. Shelby sat in the balcony watching him, a light of recognition in his calm eyes. The old man entered, approached the register, and wrote his name. One having curiosity enough to look over his shoulder might have read:

"WILLIAM THOMPSON."

Fair enough name and honest. The old man went to his room and locked his door. The windows of his room looked out upon the plaza. In a few moments it was noticed that the blinds were drawn, and the curtains down. Old men need air and sunlight; they do not commence hibernating in June.

When he had drawn his blinds, Shelby called up Connor.

"Get your band together, Lieutenant," was the order.

"For what, General?"

"For a serenade."

"A serenade to whom?"

"No matter, but a serenade just the same. Order, also, as you go out by headquarters, that all the men not on duty, get under arms immediately and parade in front of the balcony."

The assembly blew a moment afterwards, and as the sun set a serried mass of soldiers, standing shoulder to shoulder, were in line, waiting. Afterwards the band marched into the open place reserved for it, Connor leading.

Shelby pointed up to the old man's window, smiling.

"Play Hail to the Chief," he said.

It was done. No answering signals at the window. The blinds from a look of silence had put on one of selfishness.

Shelby spoke again:

"Try 'Dixie,' boys. If the old man were dead it would bring him to life again."

The sweet, familiar strains rose up, rapid and exultant, filling all the air with life and all the pulses with blood. When they had died with the sunset, there was still no answer.

Shelby sopke again:

"That old man up there is Kirby Smith; I would know him among a thousand. Shout for him until you are hoarse."

A great roar burst forth like a tempest, shaking the house, and in the full torrent of the tide, and borne aloft as an awakening cry, could be heard the name of "Smith! Smith!"

The blinds flew open. The curtains were rolled up, and in plain view of this last remnant of his magnificent army of fifty thousand men, Gen. E. Kirby Smith came forth undisguised, a look full of eagerness and wonderment on his weary and saddened face. He did not understand the greeting, the music, the armed men, the eyes that had penetrated his disguise, the shouts that had invaded his retreat. Threatened with death by roving and predatory bands from Shreveport to San Antonio, he knew not whether one friend remained to him of all the regiments he had fed, clothed, flattered, and left unfought.

Shelby rose up in his place, a great respect and tenderness at work in his heart for this desolate and abandoned man who lived the military life that was in him, and who—a stranger in a land filled full of his soldiers—had not so much as a broken flag staff to lean upon. Given not overmuch to speaking, and brief of logic and rhetoric, he won the exile when he said to him:

"General Smith, you are the ranking officer in the Trans-Mississippi Department. These are your soldiers, and we are here to report to you. Command, and we obey; lead us and we will follow. In this public manner, and before all San Antonio, with music and with banners, we come to proclaim your arrival in the midst of that little band which knows neither dishonor nor surrender. You were seeking concealment, and you have found a noontide of soldierly obedience and devotion. You were seeking the night and the obscurity of self-appointed banishment and exile, and you have found guards to attend you, and the steadfast light of patriotism to make your pathway plain. We bid you good morning instead of good night, and await, as of old, your further orders."

Shouts arose upon shouts, triumphal music filled all the air again. Thrice Smith essayed to speak, and thrice his tears mastered him. In an hour he was in the ranks of his happy soldiers, as safe and as full of confidence as a king upon his throne.

There came also to San Antonio, before the march was resumed, an Englishman who was a mystery and an enigma. Some said he was crazy, and he might have been, for the line of demarkation is so narrow and so fine between the sound and unsound mind, that analysis, however acute, fails often to ascertain where the first ends and the last begins. This Englishman, however, was different from most insane people in this—that he was an elegant and accomplished linguist, and extensive traveler, a soldier who had seen service in Algeria with the French, and in the Crimea with the British, and a hunter who had known Jules Girard and Gordon Cumming. His views upon suicide were as novel as they were logically presented. His knowledge of chemistry, and the intricate yet fascinating science of toxicology, surprised all who conversed with him. He was a man of the middle age, seemingly rich, refined in all his habits and tastes, and singularly winning and fascinating in his intercourse with the men. Dudley, that eminent Kentucky physician, known of most men in America, declared, after the observations of a long life, that every man born of a woman was crazy upon some one subject. This Englishman, therefore, if he was crazy at all, was crazy upon the subject of Railroad Accidents. He had a feverish desire to see one, be in one, enjoy one, and run the risk of being killed by one. He had traveled, he said, over two continents, pursuing a phantom which always eluded him. Now before and now behind him, and then again upon the route he had just passed over, he had never so much as seen an engine ditched. As for a real, first-class collision, he had long ago despaired of its enjoyment. His talk never ended of wrecked cars and shattered locomotives. With a sigh he abandoned his hopes of a luxury so peculiar and unnatural, and came as a private to an expedition which was taking him away from the land of railroads. Later, this strange Englishman, this traveler, linguist, soldier, philosopher, chemist—this monomaniac, too, if you will—was foremost in the battle of the Salinas, fighting splendidly, and well to the front. A musket ball killed his horse. He mounted another and continued to press forward. The second bullet shattered his left leg from the knee to the ankle. It was not known that he was struck until a third ball, entering the breast fairly, knocked him clear and clean from the saddle, dying. He lived until the sun went down—an hour and more. Before he died, however, the strangest part of his life was to come—that of his confession. When related, in its proper sequence, it will be found how prone the best of us are to forget that it is the heart which is oftener diseased than the head. He had suffered much in his stormy lifetime, had sinned not a little, and had died as a hunted wolf dies, victoriously and at bay.

At San Antonio, also Governor Reynolds and Gen. Magruder joined the expedition. The first was a man whose character had to be tried in the fiery crucible of military strife and disaster, that it might stand out grand, massive and indomitable. He was a statesman and a soldier. Much residence abroad had made him an accomplished diplomatist. He spoke three foreign languages fluently. To the acute analysis of a cultivated and expanded mind, he had added the exacting logic of the law. Poetry, and all the natural and outward forms of beauty affected him like other imaginative men, but in his philosophy he discarded the ornate for the strong, the Oriental architecture for the Corinthian. Revolution stood revealed before him, stripped of all its glare and tinsel. As a skilled physician, he laid his hand upon the pulse of the war and told the fluctuations of the disease from the symptoms of the patient. He knew the condition of the Confederacy better than its President, and worked like a giant to avert the catastrophe. Shams fled before him as shadows before the sun. He heard no voice but of patriotism, knew no word but devotion, had no ambition but for his country, blessed no generals without victorious battle-fields, and exiled himself before he would surrender. His faith was spotless in the sight of that God of battles in whom he put his trust, and his record shone out through all the long, dark days as a light that was set upon a hill.

Magruder was a born soldier, dead now and gone to heaven. He had a figure like a Mars divested of immortality. He would fight all day and dance all night. He wrote love songs and sang them, and won an heiress rich beyond comparison. The wittiest man in the old army, Gen. Scott, adored him. His speech had a lisp that was attractive, inasmuch as it lingered over its puns and caressed its rhetoric. Six feet in height, and straight as Tecumseh, Magruder, in full regimentals, was the handsomest soldier in the Confederacy. Not the fair, blonde beauty of the city, odorous of perfume and faultless in tailor-fashion, but a great, bronzed Ajax, mighty thewed, and as strong of hand as strong of digestion. He loved women, too, and was beloved by them. After Galveston, with blood upon his garments, a bullet wound upon his body, and victory upon his standards, he danced until there was daybreak in the sky and sunlight upon the earth. From the fight to the frolic it had been fifty-eight hours since he had slept. A boy of sixty-four, penniless, with a family in Europe, homeless, bereft of an avocation he had grown gray in following, having no country and no calling, he, too, had come to his favorite officer to choose his bivouac and receive his protection. The ranks opened eagerly for this wonderful recruit, who carried in his old-young head so many memories of the land towards which all were journeying.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Readers of the *Review* will find much to interest them in this issue. Containing seven contributions on current and past history of the State, not including the departments on *Notes* and *Newspapers*, this number is indicative of the work being attempted by the *Review*. To enlist the cooperation of all students of Missouri history and to diffuse information on that subject, are the purposes underlying this magazine.

Adjutant General Clark's article on *Missourians in Service* is an invaluable resume on this important subject by a trained authority. Much has been written along this line, but no account met with is so commendable in its regard for accuracy, in its absence of mere laudatory phrases, and in its succinct brevity of statements. A pen picture of *Missourians in Service* is presented in this article. The high military position occupied by General Clark, his long career in military affairs, his leadership of men in camp and on the field, make this article a distinct contribution to the *Review*.

Mrs. Anna Brosius Korn's article on *Major Benjamin Holliday* will be of special interest to those familiar with Missouri journalism. Mrs. Korn's position regarding the founding of "Missouri's First Country Newspaper" is worthy of close examination. Documents of unquestioned authenticity are presented by Mrs. Korn to support her contention. No one can deny that the names of both Patten and Holliday appear as owners on the early issues of the *Intelligencer*. Patten sold his interest, later bought back and finally became sole owner and publisher until 1835. Holliday bought Patten's interest in 1820, became sole owner and publisher, and finally sold out in 1822. For decades Patten has been regarded as the real founder of the paper: Mrs. Korn takes the position that Holliday was the real founder. The best account of Patten's association with the paper is *Nathaniel Patten, Pioneer Editor*, by Dr. F. F. Stephens, (*Mo. Hist.*

Rev., Vol. 9, pp. 139ff.). The best account of Holliday's association is the present one by Mrs. Korn.

Readers of the *Review* need no introduction to the writings of Prof. William G. Bek. The present series of articles on *The Followers of Duden* will be found even more enjoyable and instructive than was the excellent translation of *Duden's Report.* For years Dr. Bek has been collecting material for the present contributions. Missouri history has been greatly strengthened by the reserach work of this distinguished scholar.

One Hundred Years of Medicine in Missouri, by Dr. H. W. Loeb, of St. Louis, is a reproduction of the address delivered by the author at the Missouri Centennial Banquet held in Columbia on January 8, 1918. Dr. Loeb is an eminent member of his profession and has always been deeply interested in the history of medicine. His account of Missouri's contributions to this field of knowledge contains much that is not familiar even to students of local history. It will, therefore, be of great interest to all readers of the *Review.*

Prof. Sam T. Bratton's article on the *Inefficiency of Water Transportation in Missouri—A Geographical Factor in the Development of Railroads* is a distinct contribution. One wishes that the author had made his paper longer. This new viewpoint of Prof. Bratton's is pregnant with meaning. Students of the pre-war history period of the State must take cognizance of this. So much has been written lauding the old river traffic, that the modern historian has usually forgotten to mention the shortcomings of that traffic.

COMMENTS.

Among the letters of appreciation received, these have been selected for reproduction:

"I want to confide in you that I desire to do everything on earth that I can for The State Historical Society because of my confidence in you and my feeling that every dollar will be well spent. You have been a great aid to me in the last two years by furnishing me valuable information from time to time."

Hon. Frederick D. Gardner,
Governor of the State of Missouri,
Jefferson City, Missouri,
May 29, 1919.

"Permit me to congratulate you on the work you are doing for The State Historical Society of Missouri, which seems to me, not only very commendable, but very important. Wishing you even greater success, I am

Francis H. Sisson, Vice-Pres.,
Guaranty Trust Company of New York,
New York City,
July 14, 1919.

"I appreciate the fact fully that the world is a very busy one and that the ordinary man, even though he be a thinking man, does not quite appreciate the importance of preserving the things which in future years become valuable. I find in this office some of the reports made right after the Civil War are missing and many old records which are now priceless were doubtless thrown away years ago. It is a great satisfaction to me to know that we have your society to protect us from ourselves and particularly that you are devoted to the work in hand. I feel a great interest in these things myself. The early history of our state has always had a fascination for me and I am always intensely interested in preserving everything having to do with the long ago."

H. C. Clark,
Adjutant General of the State of Missouri
Jefferson City, Missouri,
June 28, 1919.

"I wish also to thank you for having placed and retained my paper on the exchange list of the *Missouri Historical Review.* No paper or periodical comes to my office that affords me more genuine pleasure than it does. You have accomplished and are still doing a great work and benefit in behalf of those who are interested in the history of this State."

E. M. Zevely,
Editor *Unterrified Democrat*,
Linn, Missouri,
June 29, 1919.

"Thanks to the diligence of the secretary of the Missouri State Historical Society in collecting data concerning the great war, we have the information as to Missouri's total casualties up until June 1. The total reached 11,009, of which 10,560 were in the Army. The Missourians of the army and marines who died in battle numbered 1,270, while 493 in the same branches died of wounds. The total deaths in all branches from all causes were 3,483, to which may be added some of the 286 missing on land or sea. The severely wounded number 2,824. When the activity of the Missouri divisions is considered, there is cause for surprise in the fact that only 195 of all the forces engaged on land and sea were taken prisoners. While the figures made public at Columbia do not deal with the results of the fighting, it is known that many times this number of prisoners were taken by Missourians.

"The distribution of decorations and the number of citations of Missouri troops eloquently attest to their valor. The Missourians have maintained in Europe the fighting reputation established at New Orleans while this was still a territory and kept lustrous in every war since. The total runs 198, embracing the highest military honors conferred by the United States, France, Italy and Great Britain. The number will grow, for many other soldiers have been recommended. Descriptions of the gallantry of Missourians, which brought astonishment to officers who had seen superb displays of dauntless valor ever since the war began, are in a part of our contemporary literature, as they must become a part of our permanent history.

"The State Historical Society has never had a greater duty than the gathering and preserving of the record of Missourians in this war. When it has been gathered, arranged and the cold official accounts have been supplemented with vivid testimony of eye-witnesses, some genius will have the material for an epic. Artistic reproduction of some of the scenes in which Missourians gave their all for America should form a feature of whatever memorials the state and the several cities and counties erect."

Editorial in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*,
June 18, 1919.

"I am in receipt of your very courteous letter of June 27th, in which you answer in very full and satisfactory manner my inquiry as to the age and priority claims of the *Arkansas Gazette*. We have in our archives practically a complete set of files of the *Arkansas Gazette*. The first issue appeared November 20, 1818. The date above mentioned according to your statement, which statement I shall accept as final, makes the *Arkansas Gazette* the fifth oldest paper published west of the Mississippi river.

"I propose to present the fact with regard to this matter in such a manner, I trust, as to settle for all time the tradition which assumes that the Arkansas Gazette is the second oldest paper of the Mississippi."

DALLAS T. HERNDON,
Secretary Arkansas Historical Association
Little Rock, Arkansas,
July 1, 1918.

"There is no one making a greater effort to preserve the history of Missouri for her people than the State Historical Society."

MISS ELIZABETH AUSTIN,
Genealogist,
Kansas City, Missouri,
November 21, 1918.

"I am proud of the good showing our Society is making in the way of growth. The field of the historical society is a big one which always needs cultivation of the most advanced kind. Of the Historical Societies of other states of which I have knowledge, I find none more advanced than we really are, and none with sounder ideas of what is required of an historical society that it may live and grow and not *merely vegetate* as do most of them. The fact that we are keeping up with the procession and progressing in addition is due very largely to you and to your efforts, and I want therefore to compliment you on your showing of results."

WM. CLARK BRECKENRIDGE,
Historian and Bibliographer,
St. Louis, Missouri,
June 12, 1919.

AN ACTIVE MEMBER AND A PUBLIC SPIRITED CITIZEN.

Mr. A. F. McCray of Cowgill, Missouri, is a dealer in real estate, an auctioneer, and a banker in farm loans. He is also a dealer in hay, grain and seeds. These are his vocations. His avocation is Missouri history. Mr. McCray has been a member of this Society and a subscriber to *The Missouri Historical Review* for several years. As the *Review* increased in interest, Mr. McCray desired to see it more widely distributed. He has voluntarily obtained nine new subscribers for the *Review* and writes under recent date, "will get a good many more in the near future." Mr. McCray says, "three of these new members are my children and I want each of them to become familiar with Missouri history."

The public spirited example of Mr. McCray is worthy of note. It is not difficult to find reason for Mr. McCray's own deep interest in Missouri history, since he is a veteran of the Civil War in the State, a survivor of the memorable battle of Lone Jack, and a man who sees beyond his township line. He appreciates the value of history, both State and National. He hopes to impart this appreciation to his children and his fellow citizens. There was never a time in the annals of this republic when education along broad lines was more important, not alone for individuals but over all for the State and Nation.

An appreciation of history and the science of government are today fundamental in that education. Without enlightenment on these subjects, the citizenry of a nation increases its chances for unrest and radicalism, and decreases its capacity for permanent progress.

No man can read the story of his people's efforts without loving his fellow man. He will find no epoch perfect, no period a Paradise, no governmental machinery infallible, but he will find both reason for imperfections and postive proof of progress. And, he will love and honor his native land more for knowing these things. The progress being made by man today will be conditioned by his regard for the experiences of the past. The wise son profits by his father's life, an enlightened posterity by the annals of ancestors. Many radical movements would die still-born if their supporters drew more on history and less on hysteria. Many re-reactionary positions would be abandoned if their defenders knew more of precedents and less of prejudice. Progress in social life is just as subject to general laws as is progress in arts and science. Respect and regard for the history of a people is only in conformity with conservative common sense. The millennium is met with in the annals of no land, but the nearest approach to widespread liberalism and economic democracy will be found in the history of American commonwealths, among which Missouri stands high.

AUTOGRAPHS.

Autographs of the world's great and rare editions of eminent authors, are studies that concern not only antiquarians, and book-men, but also millionaires, librarians, and collectors in civilized countries. Bibliographies for guidance of buyers and sellers have been compiled on these subjects and the amount of money expended yearly runs high. Contrary to common belief, age is only one of the factors, and a minor one, in giving value. The economic law of commodities, supply and demand, seem in full force in disposing of or obtaining a "Breeches Version Bible" in the same way as in selling or buying a piece of Missouri land. The old theory of marginal cost and marginal utility seems to have little application. An excellent, up-to-date, finely bound edition of a complete set of the works of Eugene Field may be obtained today direct from the publisher for $30.00; the original, poorly printed, cheaply put-together simple volume of Field's *Denver Primer* would cost from $250 to $500, and the supply is so low that one would probably wait months before he found even an opportunity to bid. Many books are high because they are rare and valuable. On being reprinted, it frequently happens that even the original editions become cheap. In many cases, however, the contrary holds true. The larger the number of cheap editions issued of some works, the more popular their author becomes, and the more highly prized are his first and original editions. Even theft receives its reward here. "Pirated" editions of some authors sell higher in almost geometrical progression as the lawful editions sell lower. Some of Mark Twain's books "pirated" in Canada have a much higher value than the most artistic editions of his lawful publications in that country.

Rule and reason seem even more useless as guides in valuing autographs. The signatures of Queen Anne and her well known Secretary of State, Viscount Bolingbroke, may be purchased for $2.62, according to a recent catalog of a leading English book-seller, but he values a one page letter of the English author, Matthew Arnold, at $4.37, a four page letter of the poetess, Elizabeth P. Browning, at $4.68, and a single page letter of Robert Browning, written only forty years ago, is priced at $10.68. Royalty may reign and rule, but not in the book marts of the world. Carlyle's autograph is valued higher than the seal of a sovereign. A letter of his written "in a very shaky hand" in 1876 is priced at $10.00, a letter of Edward VII inviting a lady and her husband to dinner, "on headed notepaper, with crest," etc., is worth only $4.37. The autograph of the American novelist Cooper is even higher, being listed at $5.00. The scientist also has his glory, for Charles Darwin's signature is today worth $16.25—six times as "high" as the seal of an English queen. Dickens could easily make a larger income today signing his name than he did writing his famous novels seventy-five years ago, if all his autographs sold at over $10.00—the present list price.

German royalty is getting rare. Their autographs are not, however, raising in value. The signature of Frederick II ("The Great"), written in 1777, brings only $3.75; the hand of the great Jewish statesman of England, Benjamin Dirsaeli, is more than twice as high, bringing $8.75, and a short letter of the remarkable English novelist, George Eliot, slandered and attacked during her own life, now commands $11.25. The seal of Thomas Hutchison, once Governor of Massachusetts, is worth $15.00, a single page in the hand of Washington Irving brings $20.

The initials of the philosopher John Locke, "with some quotations in Latin" and a few words in French—forty lines in all—are priced at $17.50. Justice, tho sometimes slow in decision, decrees her awards fairly. The letters of the world famed nurse and humanitarian, Florence Nightingale, are prized highly. Twelve letters, six in pen and six in pencil, are valued at $27.50. Altho this great and good woman associated with those of highest and lowest ranks, she mentions in these letters only one woman of the nobility but "in numbered paragraphs" she describes and names a number of persons in the humblest circumstances. A letter of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, commands $20.00 and the letters of two other signers are valued at $5.00. A single page letter of the famous actress, Sarah Siddons, brings $22.50, altho a two page epistle from Wordsworth commands only $10.00.

The popularity of the war conqueror seems to fade even faster than the pomp of heraldry. The lowest price for any sovereign's seal is $2.50, while thirty-eight valuable letters of length of the great Duke of Wellington, the deliverer of Europe and the hero of England, bring only $32.50, an average of 86 cents! How old Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father of "The Dictionary of the English Language," would chuckle in his haughty, domineering, cynical way if he knew that a single page of his own writing is today worth $37.50—more in fact than he realized from some of his most finished literary productions. The half-blind, half-deaf, dropsical old literary lion would probably turn to his worshipper, Boswell, and calmly remark that the world must be advancing a little to have even this slight appreciation of worth and value.

Thackery, the great wit and novelist, would probably not be surprised to find his autograph selling either highest or lowest. He could find humor in either sale. This short note, revealing Thackery's fondness of getting fun out of the cockneyisms of the day, is priced at $40—one dollar a word:

"My dear F., if you please I musn't come. I shant be ready I fear. If you have your work done I wonder whether you'll come to a drumkin (dance) here to-night. There will be some pooty gals. Yours, W. M. T."

BINGHAMS ENGRAVINGS.

Thru the public spirited efforts of Prof. John S. Ankeny, Professor of Art, University of Missouri, and the citizens of

Columbia, large steel-engravings of two of the paintings of George C. Bingham, "The Missouri Artist," were purchased and presented in August to The State Historical Society of Missouri. The pictures were reproductions of "The Stump Speaker" and "The County Election," two of Bingham's most famous works. The engravings were owned by Miss L. C. Crumbaugh, of Columbia, who generously made possible their purchase at a very reasonable figure in order that the Society might come into possession of them.

HANNIBAL BOY, YOUNGEST GUNNER IN A. E. F.

Hannibal, Missouri, has the distinction of being the home of the youngest gunner in the A. E. F., James E. Willerton. He inlisted at the age of fourteen, altho recruiting officers were forbidden to take boys of that age. Young Willerton first attempted to enlist in April, 1917. He gave his true age and was rejected. He returned in a few days and stated to the sergeant in charge that he was a brother of the young man who had just applied. He said that he was nineteen. After producing an affidavit, supposedly from his younger brother, he was admitted into the army. Willerton enlisted with the coast artillery, but later was transferred to the 26th Field Artillery and reached France in January, 1918. He fought with the 2d Division at Chateau Thierry, Soissons, Champaigne, St. Mihiel and the Argonne. He was wounded in the battle at Champaigne. He returned to his home in Hannibal this August.

AN INTERESTING OLD LETTER.

By courtesy of Mr. Ben L. Emmons, of St. Charles, Missouri, the *Review* is permitted to reproduce the following letter, which was written to Mr. Emmons' father by Jno. A. Richey, both natives of St. Charles.

Sacromento City, Oct. 3, '50.

Friend Emmons:

We all arrived here the 26th Sept., well and mutch fatiegued of Traveling my health has improved Since I left St. Charles. James Gallaher had a severe attact of Chollora the 1st July. We lay up with him 9 days Since he recovered of that he has improved mutch in health to what it was previous. We were verry fortunate got through this most of our Stock and boath Waggons and had sufficient provisions to last us through by allowancing ourselves the last 10 days. I presume there were near Five Thousand Emigrants Died of Chollora and Diahre—between St. Lo. Mo., and the Serrenavada Mountain. the Most of the Sickness was between the former place and South Poss. We crossed the Mo. River the 22d May at Council Bluffs and took the North Side of Platt as far as Fort Laromie and was not among the Sickness untill we got here. There has been a grate deal of Suffering among the Emigrants and I fear it is not over with yet as there is a large portion on the road yet. Some of them loosing there entire Outfit—and others getting out of Provisions Not starting with sufficient Supply Expecting they would find persons with a surpelious that they could buy from. We found Grass verry Scarce many places nonoe where the Emigrants last Season found it in abundance. I suppose there was up to the time we passed the junction of the Orrigon Road near 1000 persons changed there Coarse for Orrigon who started for this Golden Region Scared of by Sickness and Scarcity of Grass, James G. Dr. G. and Parker came falling victoms to the Epidemic as the Callifornians termed it. The Trip has been verry Manottenous to me generally So I have no curiossity in trying the Plains again. I see snow from 15th July to 25th Sept. nearly every day on Points of Mountains from 1 to 25 miles distant and the 2 days we were crossing the Serrenevada Mn., Snow Banks each side the Road from 5 to 20 feet deep. We seen verry little game on the way the Company only killed 3 Boffalows and 5 or 6 Antelopes.

They expect the raining Season to set in here about the 10th next month, the weather is verry warm here now. It is quite healthy there has been no Chollera this side the Serrenevada Mn. There is Hundreds of Emigrants takeing Shipping for home as soon as they get here not finding the Country as they had Pictured it out. As for my part I intend to give it a fare trial before I take Shipping. I have not been to the Mines yet but contemplate going in a few days and try my luck and when I write to you again I will be sufficiently informed to give you the particulars about Gold Diging and the Contry generally.

I have seen John S. Shaw he is here and well Mouse makes it his home here have not seen him he is out of the city at this time. Dorsey Patterson, McCausland, Glendy, Ben Wardlow is at the Mines. Alex and Aug. C. Chauvin has a Ranch 25 miles from here Yosti is trading in the Mines. Ben Orrick is at San Francisco Fulkerson is keeping store here Moses Mallarson is here and of the New Californians Garriott White, Call and Bond is at the mines Col. Cunningham's Company part of them at the Mines and part here Redmon and Beddo got here the 1st Inst., and are encamped here with us. Hilberts Company is here Glilers Company is here Keithlys are here Dr. Diffenderfer is here, Wm. Loveck is here Andrews is at the Mines Richard Overall is here In fact I believe all the St. Charldians has got in Sam Machett is at Salt Lake and contemplates returning back home.

I presume you will hear before this reaches you the Death of Lee Overall he died at Weavertown the day he got in of Inflimation of the Lungs he was Sick some 2 or 3 weeks. For fear you do not I will mention the deaths. Mrs. Diffenderfer died on the Humbolt River near the Sente. Tom Williams formerly of the Point Died on the Humbolt Dessert—Ham Orrick Died at Fort Korkey about the time we passed.

Sacramento City numbers about as many buildings as St. Charles and as much Scattered they are principally Frame. There is 2 or 3 brick only nearly finished and the place is 10 or 15 times more densly populated, there is 4 churches, 1 Catholic 1 Presbyterian and 2 Methodist—North & South. I attended the Dedication of the Methodist Church South last Sunday there was about 100 Males and 10 or 15 feemales there this number I understand is a large church assembly here Sunday is as busy a day as any during the week but few of the business Houses suspend on account of Sunday and the Streets is crouded with Teams and Stocks. The Gambling Houses are in full Blast and persons betting hundreds on a Single Card. These Houses nearly all have a Band of Music besides a Pianno Setting near there principal Table and is the finiest finished houses in the City and you will see Spanish and American Wimmen dealing Monta Farrow &c in all of them at all hours I suppose you have an Idea how matters are conducted here in this line so I will forbear entering into particulars.

I Expected when I arrived here to get a letter from you But was disappointed I am verry anctious to hear from you and Our old friends and hope to receive one Soon. Present my compliments to Miss Chauvins, Miss Charlotte and Miss Machatts and also to Miss Bell Parks and tell her that we feasted on the Fruit-Cake the 4th July on Platt River 1400 miles from St. Charles and it was verry Delicious we saved ½ gal. of 4th Proof Brandy for the occasion. Tell Miss Caroline Chauvin that I drempt that her and Wm. Jenstell was married and awoke with a throbing hart—the 26th Sept. on the Summitt of the Serrenevada Mountain the only night we camped upon the Summitt. If you see E. C. Cunningham read this letter to him all except this page and tell him I will write in a few days. Remember me to all enquiring friends and see that my interesets is well represented.

Yours Respectfully
(Signed) Jno. A. Richey.

P. S. In looking over I see that Redman and Beddo name is only mentioned I will say Redman is well had 2 attacks of Chollora on the Road and likes the Country purty well, Beddo looks like he was undergoing the change frome a *Human Being to a Smoked or dryed Herring* and is well, they boath contemplate going to the Mines tell Caroline and Leas not to be oneasy about John and Lenard, if you think propper.

(Signed) J. A. Richey.

REUNION OF FOUR CONSTITUTION MAKERS.

(From the *St. Louis Republic.*)

Macon, Mo., July 28.—While here with Gov. Gardner's party Saturday, Harry C. Turner, president of the Old Settlers' Reunion Association of Montgomery county, invited Maj. B. R. Dysart, member of the constitutional convention of 1875, to attend the annual meeting at New Florence, Saturday, August 2. Turner has also invited the other survivors of the memorable assembly. As Major Dysart recollects them the other two are Y. F. Cottey, of Knox county, and D. C. Allen of Clay county. Gov. Gardner remarked that another member, Judge Shields of the St. Louis Circuit Bench, was also in the land of the living. Turner hopes to have all four gentlemen present at his reunion. If he succeeds it will be the first time they have met in many years, and it would doubtless make a rather impressive occasion. Major B. R. Dysart is president and oldest member of the Macon Bar Association. The Major, now a few years past 80, was one of the youngest members of the Missouri Constitutional Convention in 1875.

"Talking about tinkering with the Constitution again, I see. Some fellows looking for a job. I reckon. Well, if they'll take it as cheap as we did, I won't have any kick coming," said Maj.

B. R. Dysart. 'That was a time when patriotism meant personal economy. We received $5 a day, and out of that we paid our hotel bills and all other expenses. There were no bells to ring for stenographers. Each man did his own writing, using a quill pen. In signing the final draft each member affixed his name with a quill.

STRONG ECONOMICAL CODE.

"The men of the Constitutional Convention were ardent in their ambition to give the State a code that would stand the test and that could be economically administered. Economy was a hobby with them. They were headset on not squandering any of the State's money needlessly. There were even objections to employing a chaplain, on the ground of expense. But Judge Thomas P. Gantt solved that question. He said William Priest of Marion county was a good old 'Hardshell' Baptist preacher, who didn't believe in salaries for preaching, and that he could do as fine job of chaplaining as any man on a regular wage, and that he'd come and pray for us. So Brother Priest was elected, and he made Judge Gantt's words good.

"When the matter of placing the word 'Creator' in the Constitution came up, Judge Gantt opposed it, because he didn't believe it was wise to drag the Deity into public affairs. He wanted church and state affairs kept separate, he said. He was outvoted on this, however, and the very first three lines of the preamble reads:

" 'We, the people of Missouri, with profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe,' and so on."

BOUGHT THEIR OWN NEWSPAPERS.

"To show how strong the spirit of economy was abroad among public servants in those days, the matter of the convention's purchasing and paying for the daily papers, so as to keep tab on the proceedings, was long and earnestly discussed, and it was finally decreed that this expense should not be borne by the public funds, but by each member going down into his individual pocket and producing the cash for the paper.

"That convention made a radical change in trials for murder. Until then, if a man were convicted of murder or some degree of manslaughter, appealed and got a new trial, he could not be tried for a higher degree than the jury's verdict at the first trial. The change in the Constitution provided that the second trial should be conducted regardless of the jury's verdict the first time. There have been cases since where men were tried for murder, convicted in the second degree, appealed, got a new trial and were then convicted in the first degree.

NEWSPAPER HAS GOLDEN JUBILEE.

The Buffalo Reflex, published by Phil A. Bennett, celebrated in August the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. The *Reflex* is said to be the oldest business institution today in Dallas county, having been established in 1869, just a week before the oldest store now in business there opened its doors.

TWO ST. LOUIS ESTATES.

(From the *St. Louis Republic.*)

An inventory of the personal estate of John T. Milliken, who died January 31 last, was filed yesterday. It shows:

Notes—$11,620.39.
Accounts—$4,942.81.
Corporation Stocks—$7,100,200.
Cash—$15,908.69.
Chattels—$15,993.
Memberships—$450.
Claims—$6,114.36.
LIBERTY BONDS—NONE.
WAR SAVINGS STAMPS—NONE.

On February 2, 1919, the inventory of the estate of another St. Louisian was filed, that of one Owen Miller by name. It showed:

Cash—$1,800.
Chattels—$87.50.
LIBERTY BONDS—$5,000.
WAR SAVINGS STAMPS—$100.

Miller, who was head of the Musicians' Union and a labor leader of prominence, served on the District Draft Board at a personal loss, made Liberty Bond speeches and otherwise interested himself in war work.

John T. Milliken made chemicals for the Government at a large profit.

AN INVENTORY AND AN INVOCATION.

(From the *Omaha News.*)

Uncle Sam has become the world's greatest captain of industry. Here are the figures:

We have 6 per cent of the world's population.

We own 7 per cent of the world's land.

But we produce 70 per cent of the world's copper.

We produce 66 per cent of the world's oil.

We raise 60 per cent of all cotton raised.

We produce 33 per cent of the world's silver.

We dig 52 per cent of all coal used.

We mine 40 per cent of iron and steel, 20 per cent of the world's gold.

We manufacture 85 per cent of all motor cars manufactured, and operate 40 per cent of the world's railroads.

We grow 25 per cent of the world's wheat.

Before the war England was, on the surface, the richest nation in the world. At that time the United States owed 4 billion dollars to Europe.

Now Europe owes the United States 10 billion dollars.

In two years we shall have passed England as a shipbuilder.

All we have to do to go to the wall is to become a junker nation, with no other than material ambitions. He whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

But let's not do that. Let's be sensible and decent and thankful that we are so fortunately situated. And let's try to make the best use of our combined wealth so that everybody will be prosperous and educated and comfortable and happy.

JUST MISSOURIANS.

(By Miss Nellie Sneed, Exchange Department, *Kansas City Star.*)

A newcomer to this fair commonwealth writes us his impressions. We gather that he regards us as different from the people with whom he was brought up in the East. Very likely. Who wants to be monotonous?

Missourians are an incredulous folk. But their "show me" carried them through at Chateau Thierry and the Argonne. Missouri meerschaums are lightly spoken of by strangers, yet in this state they are tenderly laid on the ledge of the kitchen window the last thing at night and taken up the first thing in the morning.

Natives have to protest that hound dogs and mules are not the only live stock that the state produces. Like the Bostonian, a shibboleth, marks them. Their sons and daughters pronounce "Missouri" with a distinct "Ah" on the last syllable. Our neighbors give the word a long lazy inflection—in keeping with their idea of us—"Missouree," and the dictionaries uphold them. Outside the state all our shortcomings are summed up and accounted for under that one word, "Missourian." Yet that title convicts of nothing in the eyes of the law, and at times it has ventured into the presence of kings and walked away decorated with crosses and honors.

The old time neighbors say that it is when they are away from home they have felt the criticism. Go into Chicago and announce that you are from Missouri; your hearers exchange significant but harmless glances; in Philadelphia they take a deep breath and talk about the weather; in Boston they look you over carefully and leave the room. Many Missourians say confidentially that they learn a strange hesitancy about mentioning their native state. One man admitted that when registering at a hotel he rolled the curves of that noble abbreviation, "Mo.," into something that looked like "Ohio" or could not be read at all. However, a kind old gentleman met him in the lobby and frankly asked him where he lived. He confessed. Clearly the old gentleman was disappointed, but he brightened up a little, however, and remarked, "At least you are not from Arkansas."

Yet every one of Missouri's sons and daughters loves the old state and only the uninitiated can hold such views.

Politically Missouri has a most advantageous situation. An enthusiasm for Dixie or a reverence for a Grand Army post will not cost a political plum. You may express the warmest admiration for the old South and be sure of the sincerest sympathy of your hearers. This same audience will cheer a performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" with equal sincerity. Missourians are not fickle—they are not dishonest. By right of birth they have broad sympathies and real associations for both sides of the question. If you live beside them you must have a ready sympathy one way or the other and express it. Missourians do not care which side you choose, but they do insist that you show your colors. For forty years Republicans cheerfully voted and lost their candidates, but not the respect of their neighbors. Now the Democrats are giving up their prestige. It all comes about like a neighborhood wedding.

"Flowers to the living," is a Missouri sentiment. In proof of it Missourians showered them on Mark Twain and they intend to see that Sara Teasdale, Fanny Hurst and the rest get a few blossoms while they are still on earth. Laclede is only expressing an affectionate loyalty when she points out seven domiciles all claiming the honor and title of "the birthplace of our John Pershing." General Price and Colonel Doniphan, Carl Schurz and Frank Blair all have places in our annals. "We are queer folks and we are proud of it," said a famous Missourian in explaining himself to a Kansas celebrity.

In spite of all the gaff and near slander that has clouded, or shall we not say in some cases haloed, the fair title of "Missourian," there is a time when he comes into his own. Positively he is the only prophet "that has honor in his own country." The new residents of the community come expecting to find curious reports true. Strangers meet new neighbors with no marked enthusiasm—rather with a curiosity which says: "Are you a 'Shepherd of the Hills' character or one of the transplanted 'First Families of Virginia?' " Thank you, we have thousands of both.

Living within the borders of the state the stranger finds many foibles "true as reported," among a people who practice every day kindness with a simplicity of manner and a sincerity of good will. Without boasting the Missourians may say of their new neighbors, "Those who came to scoff remained to pray." It is a great commonwealth, largely inhabited by those who are proud of the title, "just Missourians."

MISSOURI ON THE MEXICAN BORDER.

Under the auspices of the Adjutant General's department of the State of Missouri, the following valuable work has been published, *The Service of Missouri National Guard on the Mexican Border, Under the President's Order June 18, 1916.* This is the first of a series of *Missouri Military Reports*, a publication sponsored by Adjutant General H. C. Clark, of Jefferson City. The work has been carefully planned and is most creditable to its author. Following a historical introduction, is a roster of the National Guard of Missouri in service on the Mexican Border in 1916. The work contains 531 pages, of which forty-three are devoted to a careful index of men listed in the roster. Missouri is about to make amends for her past neglect in not having published the records of her men who served on the field of battle. Adjutant General Clark is responsible for the awakening of interest on these lines. He is planning to cover the field in a similar manner relating to the war of 1812, the Spanish-American War, and the service of Missouri boys in the recent struggle. When this has been accomplished Missourians will then be able to obtain accurate information relating to the men who have served in defense of the Nation.

HOW MISSOURI SECURED HER COAT OF ARMS AND WHERE IT WAS FOR YEARS.

(From the *Kansas City Post.*)

Not many persons know just where Missouri secured her coat of arms or that it was designed in Howard county. When Missouri was admitted into the Union the powers were then required to select a man—"an honest man, a man of great learning"—to get up a device and motto for the state of Missouri.

George Burckhartt was chosen for that work. He was chosen because he was honest, because he was wise and because he was learned, he being one of the best educated men of our then infant state. Mr. Burckhartt took the matter under advisement, and after spending much time and labor, produced the device of the crescent, the bears and the bee-hive, with the motto, "Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto." And it was adopted as the official state seal.

It was made into a great seal and the original was supposed to have been lost for years. When Claiborne F. Jackson was governor he issued a proclamation declaring Missouri out of the union, left the state capital to escape capture by federal troops and took with him the great seal. That was the original, not the facsimile used in the press to stamp public documents. It had been kept under lock and key in the office of the secretary of state. Governor Jackson died in 1862 and was succeeded by Thomas C. Reynolds, the lieutenant governor. Four years after the close of the war the seal came to light. It was in possession of Governor Reynolds, then a resident of St. Louis. It was suggested to him that he should return it to the state.

"I will return it," replied the governor, "whenever Missouri has a governor legally elected at the polls." No persuasion could move him. When Joseph W. McClurg, Republican, was elected governor in 1868, defeating John S. Phelps, the Democratic nominee, Governor Reynolds decided to return the great seal. The seal has been in use ever since and is now in charge of John L. Sullivan, secretary of State.

George Burckhartt, designer of the Missouri coat of arms, was the father of Judge Burckhartt, formerly circuit judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit, which then comprised the counties of Randolph, Howard, Boone and Callaway. He was also a brother to Nicholas S. Burckhartt, who was the first sheriff of Howard county, and a great uncle of Mrs. Talbot, wife of Col. John Talbot, a prominent citizen of Fayette. He was also a great uncle of Henry T. Burckhartt, formerly editor and owner of the Fayette Advertiser. Silas Burckhartt was sheriff in 1816, when Howard, the mother of counties, extended to Saint Charles. The handwriting of the pioneer sheriff is plainly readable on the records preserved in the courthouse at Fayette today.

VARIED INDUSTRIES OF ST. LOUIS.

(From *St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*)

Anyone who may feel pessimistic as to the business future of St. Louis and is not convinced by the signs of activity and demonstrations of optimism about him, should ponder the portion of the annual statement of St. Louis trade and commerce prepared for the Merchants' Exchange which deals with our varied industries. War restrictions on fuel, raw material, labor and shipping handicapped a few of the industries, but the volume of business in nearly all lines in 1918 was larger than ever before, both in quantity and value. Anyone inclined to think this a city of one or two industries should survey the report. In many respects St. Louis leads the world, and it captured new honors in 1918. Its only large industry to suffer was brewing, and the manufacture of soft drinks will mitigate that. Some of the smaller industries, originally dependent on brewing, have already found new customers.

St. Louis leads the world in the manufacture and distribution of shoes, making a better grade and a greater quantity than ever before, and 75 per cent of all handled here were made here. The employes number 100,000 and the business amounted to $130,000,000. As the largest manufacturing point for tobacco and cigars a business of $110,000,000 was done. As the chief city in manufacturing of railroad and street cars, St. Louis built $25,000,000 worth of freight cars for the United States and $5,000,000 for France. As the world's first manufacturing and wholesale drug center, with the largest wholesale drug house in the world, and several internationally famed chemists, a business of $37,500,000 was done in drugs and chemicals. With the largest hardware house in the world and lively competitors, the sales of "straight hardware" amounted to $93,250,000. With an identical situation as to woodenware, the business amounted to $33,000,000. As the largest fur market in the world, a business of $20,000,000 was done. Cast iron and foundry products for the year amounted to $75,000,000, while the meat packing business was $40,000,000. Horse-drawn vehicles to the value of over $20,000,000 were sold here, this being the center of manufacture. The city also leads the world in the manufacture of stoves and ranges, with a business of $16,000,000 last year. St. Louis is headquarters of the world's largest candy company, and the confectionery business amounted to $10,000,000 in spite of Mr. Hoover. St. Louis is rapidly establishing a reputation for the manufacture of men's clothing and hats and caps. The hat and cap business here last year amounted to over $10,000,000. The trunk and valise and the carpet and rug business each approximated that record.

The wholesale dry goods record stands at the top, compared with other lines or with its own past, with a total of $200,000,000. Millinery, in spite of the national campaign for economy and conservation and the quiet war styles, sold to the amount of $17,500,000. The growth in these lines is significant, for it is common knowledge that one great wholesale house draws another, just as it is the tendency of industries to flock. Recent reports from this industrial district of new enterprises illustrates this. St. Louis is very fortunate, consequently, in already leading in such a great variety of industries and in the demonstration of their prosperity. It points to an expansion of their business and to the coming of new concerns. What we did in 1918 ought to be more than duplicated this year, and the growth of the city's population and prosperity should be at an unprecedented rate.

PALMYRA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Beginning on July 21st and lasting six days, the city of Palmyra, Missouri, observed her One Hundredth Birthday with a week of celebration exercises. The first day of "Home Coming Week" was called "Get-Together Day;" the second was "Pageant Day;" the other days were "Carnival Day," "Military Day," "Old Settlers' Day and Old-Fashioned Basket Picnic Day," and "Automobile Day." Distinguished citizens of the State delivered addresses to the thousands of visitors. The Centennial Committee was composed of: F. W. Smith, Chairman; Mrs. H. Clay Heather and Miss Alma Lane. During the week a subscription list was started to build a memorial hall in honor of the Marion county lads who fought overseas.

PERSHING GIVEN OXFORD HONORARY DEGREE.

General John J. Pershing was honored on June 25th by Oxford University, England, with a degree of Doctor of Civil Law. The other representative of the United States to be so honored was Herbert C. Hoover.

AMERICAN RANK OF GENERAL.

(From *St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*)

The permanent rank of general of the army in the United States is a rare distinction, considered as the highest honor in the gift of Congress. In usual times the chief of staff is the highest military authority under the President and the Secretary of War. Major Generals Pershing, Bliss and March were made generals during the war, not in accordance with tradition, but in order that they might be less embarrassed in relations with the commanders of the associate armies, bearing high rank. But the House has authorized the appointment of Gen. Pershing to the permanent rank of general, and the Senate speedily concurred.

When there was prospect of a war with France in the administration of John Adams the President asked Washington to head an army. He consented, with the condition that Hamilton and Knox, in that order, should be his immediate subordinates. The preference given Hamilton incensed some of Washington's old generals, who commanded forces while Hamilton was aid-de-camp. But Washington had his way and the rank of lieutenant general was created for him May 28, 1798, and on July 3 following the Senate unanimously consented to Washington's appointment, made in a special message from President Adams. But on the day before adjournment of the short session of the same Congress, March 3, 1799, the office and title of lieutenant general were abolished and the rank of general of the armies of the United States created. Washington died within a few days after the next regular session of Congress met, and there has been much dispute as to whether he was ever technically a general.

Winfield Scott was made a brevet lieutenant general under a resolution of Congress, passed February 15, 1855. He drew only a major general's pay and commanded only under special assignment by the President. The rank and title of lieutenant general were revived in the civil war and conferred on Grant, March 2, 1864. It was not until after the war, on July 25, 1866, that the grade of general was created and conferred by Congress on Grant. Sherman at the same time was made lieutenant general and assigned to command of the Department of the Missouri. Grant scorned the proposal to abolish the rank of general during his term as President, so that it might be revived and conferred upon him again after his retirement. He insisted that Sherman merited the grade. Sherman was thereafter a general until his death, with Sheridan as lieutenant general. Sheridan was made general under the act of Congress, June 1, 1888. He was the last general in peace times. Nelson A. Miles was the last lieutenant general in peace times.

How chary Congress has been in conferring such ranks may be inferred from the fact that after General Garfield went to Congress from the army he opposed making Grant lieutenant general, in spite of his great abilities. General Pershing of Missouri, consequently, has received the highest distinction known to his profession in this country.

PERSONAL.

Hon. W. J. Fleming: Born in Ireland in 1871; died at Monett, Missouri, June 13, 1919. He came to America when seventeen years of age and settled at St. Louis. In 1878 he moved to Monett and was there engaged in various businesses. He was a member of the Democratic State Committee and a former mayor of Monett.

George W. Fuller: Born in Henderson county, Illinois, in 1846; died at Kansas City, Missouri, May 10, 1919. His early life was spent on the farm and in April, 1864, he enlisted in the 139th Illinois Infantry and served until October, 1865. He came to Kansas City in 1869 and became interested in various business enterprises. He was one of the organizers of the Fidelity Trust Company and at the time of his death was vice-president of the Fidelity Savings Trust Company. He was prominent in the civic affairs of Kansas City and was at various times a member of the park board, trustee of the Y. M. C. A. and a director of the Helping Hand Institute. He was one of the nine organizers of the old Commercial Club, now known as the Chamber of Commerce, and served as president of the organization in 1894-5.

Judge Turner A. Gill: Born in Bath county, Kentucky, in 1841; died at Los Angeles, California, July 18, 1919. He moved with his parents to Missouri in 1854. He was attending the University of Missouri at the outbreak of the Civil War and left school to enlist in the Confederate Army. At the close of the war he entered the University of Kentucky and was graduated from that institution in 1868. The following year he came to Kansas City and was admitted to the bar. In 1875 he was elected mayor of Kansas City and served until 1877. He was city counselor from 1879 to 1880. In July, 1880, he was appointed judge of the 24th judicial circuit and was elected to that position the following November and re-elected in 1886. Two years later he became a judge of the Kansas City Court of Appeals. In 1901 he retired and, after a few years of private practice, moved to California.

Prof. James Hutchison Kerr: Born at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, August 30, 1837; died at Colorado Springs, June 9, 1919. Prof. Kerr began his teaching career at the age of fourteen in the local rural school at Chambersburg. At nineteen he was assistant engineer of the Pennyslvania Railroad and even before he entered Yale University, from which institution he was graduated in 1865, he had obtained a practical knowledge of geology which ranked him among the foremost geologists of his day. He came to Missouri in 1865, and was made principal of Jackson Academy, then one of the most important schools in the west. He established the

Fruitland Normal College and later was prominent in organizing and managing more than two hundred teachers institutes between St. Louis and the Gulf of Mexico. He went to Colorado for his health in 1875 and there became president of Colorado College and later a member of the faculty. He traveled all over the world as a consulting geologist and won many high honors and distinctions.

Hon. A. L. Kirby: Born in Howard county, Missouri, June 21, 1863; died at Fayette, Missouri, May 8, 1919. He was educated in the public schools of Howard county and for several years taught school. He represented Howard county in the State Legislature four years, was deputy recorder of Howard county for eight years and recorder for eight years. He was enrolling clerk of the senate during the last general assembly.

J. A. Leach: Born in Negah, Ireland, May 8, 1843; died at Denver, Colorado, June 26, 1919. He came with his parents to America when only three months old and grew into young manhood in New York City. He enlisted in the Union Army at the age of eighteen at the outbreak of the Civil War and served throughout the war. In December, 1873, Mr. Leach conceived the idea of the organization of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He and eleven other men accomplished this organization which today has grown to 116,000 members.

Thomas J. Lingle: Born in Benton county, Missouri, January 8, 1846; died at Clinton, Missouri, May 30, 1919. He learned the printing trade as a boy and in August, 1864, with a brother as partner, established the *Sedalia Advertiser*, the first regularly issued paper in that city. This paper was sold and in 1866 they began the publication of the *Independent Press*, which was destroyed by fire in 1867. After several years of farm life, he and his brother again entered the newspaper field, this time at Windsor, calling the paper the *Windsor Courier*. Later in life he was connected with the *Sedalia Democrat*, Clinton, *Henry County Democrat*, *Clinton Tribune* and the *Sedalia Sentinel*.

Hon. John F. Morton: Born at New Orleans, Louisiana, March 6, 1862; died at Excelsior Springs, Missouri, August 19, 1919. He entered politics in Ray county in 1881 and held successively the offices of deputy circuit clerk, city attorney of Richmond and secretary of the Democratic Congressional Committee. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1887 from Ray county, re-elected in 1889 and became speaker pro tem of the house. In 1894 he was elected State Senator from the eighth senatorial district and was later re-elected for two succeeding terms. In 1914 he was elected for a fourth term as senator.

Hon. Edward T. Orear: Born at St. Charles, Missouri, in 1855; died at Sweet Springs, Missouri, June 22, 1919. Early in life he moved to Saline county where his father and grandfather founded the town of Orearville, near Marshall. He was educated in the public schools at Marshall and the University of Missouri. He began his political career by serving two terms as circuit clerk of Saline county and was later chief clerk for seven years in the office of State Treasurer Lon V. Stephens. From 1900 to 1905 he was state insurance commissioner. He was one of the founders of the Gate City Bank in Kansas City in 1909, and was later closely identified with other large business ventures in that city. He was comptroller of Kansas City at the time of his death.

Mason Talbutt: Born at Greenfield, Missouri, October 6, 1847; died at Greenfield, June 26, 1919. He was educated in Greenfield and before he reached his eighteenth year enlisted in the Union Army and served until the end of the war. Soon after the war he bought the *Greenfield Vedette*, succeeding John W. Davis as its editor. He sold this paper and in 1877 founded the *Dade County Advocate*, of which he was editor and publisher until 1888. He was elected presiding judge of the Dade County Court in 1882 and served four years. Upon his retirement from this office he devoted his time to the practice of law.

Hon. Clark Wix: Born in Bates county, Missouri, February 5, 1850; died at Kansas City, Missouri, June 29,

1919. He grew to manhood in Bates county and became an active, progressive citizen. He was postmaster at Butler for several years and served one term as county judge. He represented the sixteenth senatorial district in the Fiftieth General Assembly.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.

AUGUST, 1918–APRIL, 1919, INCLUSIVE.

Adair County. Brashear, *News*
Jan. 24. Missouri's first newspaper—Short history of *Missouri Intelligencer;* reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
———— Kirksville, *Journal.*
Sept. 12. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. P. Williard, pioneer physician.

Atchison County. Rock Port, *Atchison County Mail*
Sept. 13. Sketch of the life of H. F. Stapel, pioneer newspaper man and former State legislator. See also Tarkio *Avalanche*, September 13; Rock Port, *Atchison County Journal*, September 13; Fairfax *Forum*, September 20.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer*
March 6. Mexico old settler recalls day when city issued money.

———— ————, *Weekly Ledger*
August 19. Sketch of the life of A. B. Cluster, pioneer lawyer and former county official.
Sept. 19. Descendant of Daniel Boone tells story of early days.
Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of George Kabrich, pioneer merchant of Mexico.
Oct. 17. Sketch of the life of W. C. Drake, Confederate veteran. See also Mexico *Weekly Intelligencer* for Oct. 17.
Oct. 24. Sketch of the life of William I. Paul, Confederate veteran.
Oct. 31. In memory of a famous land mark familiar to many, now gone—Reminiscences of Hickman's Mill at Florida, Missouri.

———— ————, *Missouri Message*
Aug. 29. Sketch of the life of A. B. Cluster, pioneer citizen and former county official.

———— Vandalia, *Leader*
Aug. 9. Missouri's history a story of strength—historical sketch by Rev. Almer Pennewell.
Nov. 15. Reminiscent—Two well-known Audrain County men recall other days.

———— ————, *Mail*
Dec. 12. Sketch of General John J. Pershing.

Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Democrat*
Sept. 12. Old time war letter, written by a Confederate soldier serving in Georgia in 1864 to brother serving in Mississippi.

Jan. 23. Oak Hill Cemetery—A brief history of Butler's beautiful burial ground.
Feb. 27. Missouri's great seal—some historical incidents.
April 17. The Kansas Redlegs—A story of the year (1874) when Missouri was visited by grasshoppers.

———— ————, *Republican Press*
Feb. 28. Only picture of old Butler Academy, destroyed by fire in 1900.

Bollinger County. Lutesville, *Banner*
Aug. 8. The old military road, a few facts about Jackson-Greenville road.

Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard*
March 14. Our first railroad; an account of the building of the old North Missouri Railroad in Boone County in 1853-58.
March 21. Early railroads—the Louisiana and Missouri River Route project of 1868.
March 28. Early railroads—History of Centralia-Columbia branch.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian*
Nov. 22. Bogus program carries old grad back to '73. Some reminiscences of University life at that time.
Nov. 30. University rules more strict in days of yore.
Dec. 13. Finds old volumes on Missouri literature. A review of old publication on Missouri's Famous Sons.
Dec. 23. About the man who made selective draft possible. A sketch of Enoch H. Crowder; reprinted from Detroit *News*.
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Roswell M. Field, Missouri author.
Sketch of the life of Dr. W. T. Lenoir, pioneer physician of Boone County.
Jan. 15. West's first newspaper—sketch of the *Missouri Intelligencer*. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.
Jan. 28. Seventy years a Columbian—an extensive review of the life of E. W. Stephens. See also the *Evening Missourian* for January 29, and the Columbia *Tribune* for January 28 and 29.
Feb. 1. Food Administration at end in Missouri—a summary of the Administration's war work.
Feb. 6. Do you know people of fame in Missouri? Facts about Missourians as related in Shoemaker's "Missouri's Hall of Fame."
March 18. Council records show many freak ordinances; sidelights on city council's problems in former days.

———— ————, *Herald-Statesman*
Jan. 2. Crowder and the draft. A character sketch of the general, reprinted from the Detroit *News*.
Feb. 13. Old Gordon Mansion is 100 years old—a short sketch. See also the *Evening Missourian* for February 14.
Feb. 20. Traces history of Capitol; a review of an article by Dr. Jonas Viles in the *Missouri Historical Review*. See also the *Fvening Missourian* for February 17.
March 17. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Phillips. See also the *Evening Missourian* for March 14.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*

Dec.	1.	Christian Church dedication today; with some historical data.
Jan.	1.	Industrial and general review of St. Joseph, 1918. Old time printers and printing in St. Joseph.
Jan.	5.	General Pershing lives simple life; a description of his daily life in France.
March	2.	Gazette ads of pioneer days mirror St. Joe of past; miscellaneous announcements from *Gazette* files of 1851.
March	9.	St. Joe as she was back in 1848—random reminiscences.
March	16.	Will be third welcome to victorious sons; St. Joseph's part in Mexican, Civil, Spanish and Great Wars.
March	18.	Sketch of the life of Hon. Truman S. Powell, state legislator and original of "Shepherd of the Hills."
March	23.	What do you know about Joe Robidoux? Story of city's founder, with photograph.
April	6.	Our historic courthouse; sketch of Buchanan County courthouse.
April	13.	General Jeff Thompson, the "Swamp Fox;" sketch of noted Civil War figure, with photograph.
April	20.	First county fair here an epoch—held in 1854.
April	27.	A fragrant romance of the past; a love story of 1861.

———— ————, *News Press*

Dec.	24.	Good old days gone; St. Joseph man relates story of "Wild Bill" Hickok, town marshal at Abilene, Kansas, in the '70's.
Jan.	22.	Sketch of the life of Obadiah Craig, pioneer business man.
March	24.	Sketch of the life of Eugene H. Spratt, former county official.
April	18.	Sketch of the life of Louis Strekebein, pioneer citizen and Union veteran.

———— ————, *Observer*

Aug.	10.	"Make a road that will stand 50 years"—Recollections of Mark Twain and Missouri railroads of 60 years ago, by John Pierson.
March	1.	Sketch of the life of W. T. Davis, pioneer citizen and Union veteran.
March	22.	Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Philips, late federal judge for the western district of Missouri.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Telegraph*

Sept.	27.	Descendant of Daniel Boone—stories of pioneer as related by great grandson.
Jan.	10.	Sketch of the life of Judge Robert McPheeters, pioneer lawyer and former county official. See also Fulton *Gazette* for January 9.

———— ————, *Gazette*

Aug.	29.	Church nearly century old—Some statistics concerning Miller's Creek Methodist Church in Callaway County.
Jan.	30.	History of Callaway County courthouse.
March	13.	Fulton man an Indian trader; F. O. Collins tells how he ran trading post at Nohart, Nebraska, about thirty years ago.

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Southeast Missourian*

Aug.	2.	John Pershing—Native Missourian. A sketch by A. A. Jeffrey. Reprinted from the *Missouri Ruralist*.

———— ————, *Weekly Tribune*

Nov. 22. Judge Schaefer was once hazed by General Pershing. A sidelight on Pershing's life at West Point.

Dec. 6. Giboney Mansion a century old—some facts.

March 21. "He was a true Missourian;" sketch of Judge John F. Philips.

———— Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book*

Jan. 16. Back to the early days. Historical notes from copy of Jackson, *Independent Patriot*, of date August 11, 1821, Volume 1, Number 38.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*

Sept. 27. Sketch of the life of A. H. Cooley, Union veteran.

Dec. 27. Sketch of the life of E. J. Rea, Confederate veteran and pioneer banker. See also Carrollton *Republican Record* for December 26.

April 18. Sketch of the life of Judge Frank P. Divelbiss, judge of the Seventh Judicial Circuit of Missouri.

———— ————, *Republican Record*

Dec. 5. Picturesque pioneer character gone. Reminiscences of Edward L. Fisher of DeWitt, Missouri, Union veteran.

Feb. 13. "Proud of courthouse"—A short sketch, with photograph.

Feb. 20. Deserted villages; early town sites of Carroll County.

Carrollton's first postoffice; photo of log structure which housed first postoffice.

March 27. *Republican-Record* is 51 years old; a short history of paper.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*

Nov. 21. He saw the Isaacs hanging—tragedy of Harrisonville in 1879.

Letter of Civil War times—written from an army camp by Thomas R. Patton, to his wife, Mrs. Helen M. Patton, under date of April 16, 1865.

———— ————, *Cass County Leader*

Nov. 21. Sketch of the life of Thomas J. Coulter, former county official and Confederate veteran.

———— Pleasant Hill, *Times*

Aug. 16. 56 years today—The story of the battle of Lone Jack, a minor struggle of the Civil War.

Oct. 25. Sketch of the life of Benjamin Jones, Union veteran.

Nov. 22. Sketch of the life of William Miller, Union veteran.

Jan. 31. Colonel H. M. Bledsoe. Something of the career of the noted Missouri atrilleryman.

April 4. Early Cass County criminals; continued in issues of April 18 and 25.

April 11. Some Lee's Summit history.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*

Nov. 8. A scrap of early history. A description of a Salisbury township school in 1857.

March 7. History of great seal of the State of Missouri.

Christian County. Ozark, *Christian County Republican*

Sept. 13. Sketch of the life of Henry F. Davis, pioneer citizen, Union veteran and former county official.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*

Oct. 4. Chapters of Clark County history—notes on Clark County in an early day.
Nov. 22. Chapters of Clark County history—Random reminiscences.
Jan. 10. Comparative census figures, 1840 to date.

—————— ——————, *Gazette-Herald*

Aug. 2. Chapters of Clark County history—Historical notes on Clark County. Continued in issues of August 9, 16, 30; September 6, 13, 20 and October 25.
Nov. 1. Chapters of Clark County History—Random reminiscences of early days in Clark County. See also issues of November 8, 22, 29; December 6, 13, 20, 27; January 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Jan. 31. Jenkins writes of former days in Clark County.
Feb. 7. Chapters of Clark County history—Decline of river traffic.
Feb. 14. Schools of 50 years ago.
Jenkins writes of old St. Francisville.
March 7. History of Athens, Clark County.
Jenkins writes of former days; random reminiscences of pioneer life.
March 14. Editor Murphy writes of Athens.
March 21. Peril of navigation on the Mississippi in early days.
March 28. Early ideas about draining the flood plain of the Des Moines and the Mississippi.
April 4. Coming from Knox County to Clark County in 1861.
April 11. Local scenes around Kahoka in 1861.
Anniversary of "East Mail Day" in west; historical notes.
April 18. Life in Clay Township in 1861-62.
April 25. A year on the prairies of Clay Township (1861).

Clay County. Liberty, *Advance*

Jan. 17. Clay County Volunteers—a list of men who have been in military service whose names do not appear on record of local draft board.
April 18. Sketch of the Life of Judge Frank P. Divelbiss. See also Liberty *Tribune* for April 18.

—————— ——————, *Tribune*

Aug. 16. Recalls Barry murder—Recollections of speech delivered by Col. A. W. Doniphan in defense of one Marshall, charged with murder.
Jan. 3. Clay County Indian trails; article by Edgar Archer on early habitation of the county by red men.
Feb. 22. Constitution of 1875. Partial roll of members of convention and some notes of earlier conventions.
April 11. The Senator Vest dog case; story of the suit and the speech.

Clinton County. Plattsburg, *Leader*

Aug. 9. Some Baptist history—Data concerning the Baptist Churches of Clinton County, by Rev. G. A. Puckett.

Cole County.	Jefferson City, *Cole County Rustler*
April 18.	Tells of navigation on the Osage River during the '60's.
——————	——————, *Missouri School Journal*
Sept. 1918.	The Significance of Missouri in Our National History, by Prof. E. M. Violette of the Northeast Missouri Teachers College.
Oct. 1918.	The Colonial Period of Missouri History, by Prof. Violette.
Nov. 1918.	Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, by Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.
Dec. 1918.	Books Easily Available for the Study of the History of Missouri, by Miss Lucy Simmons of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College.
Jan. 1919.	Missouri politics from 1820 to 1860, by Prof. H. C. McClure of the Central Missouri State Teachers College. Missouri's Constitution of 1875; wherein it is out-of-date, by Floyd C. Shoemaker.
Feb. 1919.	Economic conditions in Missouri from 1821 to 1861, by Prof. F. F. Stephens of the University of Missouri.
Mar. 1919.	Political history of Missouri, 1860-65, by Prof. Jonas Viles of the University of Missouri.
April 1919.	The significance of certain military operations in Missouri during the Civil War, by Prof. R. S. Douglas of the Southeast Missouri State Teachers College.
——————	——————, *Mosby's Missouri Message.*
Nov. 1.	Missourians you have known. Anecdotes of famous Missourians. See all succeeding issues.
Cooper County.	Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser*
Aug. 2.	Sketch of the life of Col. J. A. Howard, Confederate veteran who served under General Sterling Price.
March 7.	Civil War reminiscences—Capture of Col. Alexander and his recruits on Blackwater in 1861.
March 14.	Shaft for pioneer paper; historical notes on the *Missouri Intelligencer.*
——————	——————, *Central Missourian Republican*
Aug. 22.	A Missourian in Philadelphia—With some Civil War recollections of Charles C. Bell.
April 24.	County records now over a century old—Record dated April 12, 1819, representing the authority for the first recorder of Cooper County for holding office.
——————	Bunceton, *Eagle*
Feb. 7.	Cooper County history, by Frank R. Chambers. Continued in issues of February 21, 28 and April 4.
Dade County.	Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*
Aug. 1.	William R. Bowles, the man—Character sketch of the former publisher of the *Dade County Advocate.*
——————	Lockwood, *Luminary*
Oct. 25.	Sketch of the life of George Dodd, Union veteran.

Dallas County. Buffalo, *Record*
Sketch of the life of Hon. J. P. O'Bannon, former county official and State senator. See also the Buffalo *Reflex* for April 17.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*
Oct. 16. Grand River College went up in smoke—With a short historical sketch.
Feb. 20. Mormon history and settlement, by E. H. Dunlap.

—————— Winston, *Sentinel*
March 20. Old frontiersman and new.

DeKalb County. Maysville, *Pilot*
April 30. Sketch of the life of W. H. Harrison, Missouri editor for 17 years.

—————— Stewartsville, *Record*
Feb. 20. 63 years ago; account of a visit to Stewartsville in 1856.

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat*
Sept. 13. Tells of Clarkton's old church and schoolhouse.
April 25. Former newspaper man writes of olden days. See also the *Dunklin County News* for April 25.

Franklin County. New Haven, *Leader*
Nov. 21. Postmasters of Franklin County in 1868.

—————— Sullivan, *News*
Some prices in 1846; report of an auction sale held in Macon County, Missouri; reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.

—————— Union, *Franklin County Tribune*
Nov. 29. Evangelical Luthern Church; organization from 1843 to 1918.

—————— ——————, *Republican Headlight*
Sept. 6. Sketch of the life of Richard T. Booth, former county and State official.
Dec. 6. First hundred years of Franklin County. Some historical data.

—————— Washington, *Citizen*
Sketch of the life of Robert Hoffman, former county official and first mayor of Washington.

Gasconade County. Bland, *Courier*
Oct. 18. Sketch of the life of Charles McDonald Matthews, former county and State official and Union veteran. See also Hermann *Advertiser-Courier* Oct. 9; Owensville *Gasconade County Republican* October 11.

—————— Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier*
Sept. 4. Sketch of the life of Balthasar Schindler, Union veteran.

——————— Owensville, *Gasconade County Republican*
Jan. 31. History of Co. E, 352nd Inft., A. E. F., by Private George W. Tappmeyer.

Gentry County. Albany, *Capital*
Sept. 12. Sketch of the life of James E. Monger, Union veteran.
Sept. 19. Sketch of the life of Edward Miles McLeod, Union veteran.

——————— King City, *Chronicle*
Sketch of the life of Benjamin L. Ramey, Union veteran.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
Nov. 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas A. Sherwood, former judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. See also issue of November 27.
Dec. 8. Greene County's notable part in great struggle. A brief summary of war activities.
Dec. 12. Welcome for Pershing recalls old incident. Recollection of the reception accorded to Col. Alexander Doniphan upon his return from Mexico in 1847.
Dec. 20. Old copper mines in Missouri will be worked again—with some history.
Dec. 24. Col. S. W. Fordyce, who has lived history. Recollections of Civil War, Senator Vest, President McKinley, etc.
Jan. 19. Dr. Samuel S. Laws—A sketch of former president of State University.
Jan. 28. Personal recollections of the battle of Springfield, January 8, 1863, by Dr. M. T. Chastain of Marshall.
March 13. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Philips. See also issues of March 15 and 17.
March 15. Recalls great plague of the 17-year locust in 1854.
April 27. Anniversary (108th) of Presbyterianism to be observed. Early history of church.

——————— ———————, *Republican*
Jan. 1. Greene County's centennial—Some history. Continued in issue of January 7.
Jan. 19. Osage Indians, one time inhabitants of Ozark region, described in detail by E. M. Shepard.

Harrison County. Cainesville, *News*
Feb. 20. Why Oxfords quit business; short history of one of oldest business houses in Harrison County—founded in 1874.

Henry County. Windsor, *Review*
Nov. 21. Sketch of the life of Wm. H. Walker, founder of the *Review* in 1876.

Holt County. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*
July 26. Holt County Pioneers—Short biography of Gideon Kunkel, Sr., with good description of pioneer conditions.
Aug. 23. Sketch of the life of Phillip Killmer, Union veteran.
Nov. 8. Sketch of the life of J. H. Nies, Union veteran.

Howard County. Glasgow, *Missourian*

Nov. 21. Glasgow's historic bronze cannon; some facts of historical interest concerning relic of Civil War.

——— Fayette, *Advertiser*

Aug. 14. Says Patton did not found first newspaper—Some data presented by Mrs. Frank M. Korn of El Reno, Oklahoma, in attempt to establish that Benjamin Holliday, and not Nathaniel Patton, established the first weekly newspaper west of St. Louis.

Jan. 16. Missouri's first paper founded in Howard County; an account of the *Missouri Intelligencer* reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.

Feb. 13. It was Nathaniel Patton—Facts concerning founding of the *Missouri Intelligencer*.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*

Dec. 19. A rich copper strike—with history of Joseph Slater mine, 1830-65.

March 20. Sketch of the life of Philip S. Deimick, scout under General Custer in the Indian wars.

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Star*

Aug. 6. When a court judged North Missouri's soil—Story of a lawsuit filed by contractors against the Santa Fe railroad which showed that the soil was not hardpan.

Aug. 11. Called him a wizard—Story of the old "yarb doctor" of Chariton County.

When Pershing was teacher in school for negroes—Picture with short caption

Sept. 15. Quantrill's ride to doom—Allen Palmer of Eldorado, Texas, last comrade to see Quantrill alive, tells story

Oct. 6. He moved troops in '61—Civil War recollections of Col. William Harvey.

Nov. 2. Twain's home a hospital. Includes a humorous story of Twain and a burglar.

Nov. 3. A drillmaster in three wars. Sketch of Major J. B. Sansom, U. S. A., retired, of Chillicothe, Missouri.

Nov. 19. Peace jubilee in 1869 a precedent for today. An account of the great peace jubilee held in Boston in 1869.

Nov. 29. Interior Missouri first explored 200 years ago. Story of explorations in upper Louisiana by Charles Claude Du Tisne in 1718.

Dec. 18. W. H. Chick died at 92. Sketch of the life of man who lived in first home built in Kansas City, with descriptions of early settlement.

Dec. 23. How the war of 1812 was waged in Missouri.

Dec. 24. Saved from Indians by a Christmas tree. Tale of pioneer days in what is now the State of Iowa.

Dec. 26. Three fought 1,500 Sioux. Story of pioneer life in Montana.

Dec. 29. New Year's in the '80's. Old customs told of.

Jan. 5. Old South still lives. Kansas City sailor tells of dinner with one of Lee's staff.

Jan. 12. Missouri's first paper—*Missouri Intelligencer*.

Jan. 19. Gene's brother "Rose." A sketch of the life of Roswell Field.

Jan. 26. Lords of 211,000 acres. An account of Fred and Thomas Scully, largest farm landlords in the United States, who own 117,000 acres in Missouri.

Feb. 7. Sketch of the life of Lieut.-Gen. John C. Bates, former Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army.

Feb. 15. Pioneer traditions center about Van Bibber tavern; story and photo of historic tavern at Mineola, Missouri.

Feb. 25. A Prussian King's lawsuit in Missouri; story of suit brought in Missouri court by Frederick William IV of Prussia.

March 2. "Rubber" Wallace's rise; sketch of Hugh C. Wallace of Lexington, new ambassador to France.

March 3. Sketch of the life of Thomas M. Johnson of Osceola, called the "Sage of the Osage."

March 23. High cost of living back in 1846—old Missouri auction prices.

April 19. When the boys came home in 1865. Story of grand review of troops of Sherman and Meade in Washington, D. C., in May, 1865.

———————— ————————, *Times*

Aug. 27. Battles not in history—Story of battle which took place in the Pryor Mountains in Montana on June 24, 1875, between three prospectors and 1,500 Sioux Indians.

Sept. 7. General Crowder, the Maker of History, from Missouri; by E. M. Violette. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.

Sept. 9. Sketch of the life of Joseph T. Bird, pioneer merchant of Kansas City.

Sept. 13. General Pershing is 58—With characterization of him as a boy by George N. Elliott, former teacher of Pershing.

Oct. 21. On the Overland Route—Some types of the overland stage drivers of the '60's.

Nov. 27. Fort Dearborn in the war of 1812. Reprinted from the Chicago *Tribune*.

Dec. 11. When an American hero was crowned with laurel. Account of the reception of Col. Alexander Doniphan upon his return from Mexico in June, 1847.

Jan. 11. The immortal Harris of A Tramp Abroad. Sketch of Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, original of Mark Twain's "Harris."

Feb. 12. Lincoln as a young man achieved success; short sketch of his early life.

Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Congressman W. P. Borland.

March 14. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Philips.

April 14. Sketch of the life of Judge Frank P. Divelbiss.

———————— Lee's Summit, *Journal*

Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of the late Congressman W. P. Borland.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*

Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of S. B. Griswold, pioneer merchant and Union veteran.

Nov. 28. Sketch of the life of Henry Bowman, Union veteran.

Feb. 6. Sketch of the life of N. D. Wolaver, Union veteran.

Feb. 13. Sketch of the life of James M. Cravens, pioneer citizen and former State representative.

——— Joplin, *Globe*
Nov. 29. Missouri ranks high in war work. A short summary of State's war activities.
Dec. 22. Sketch of the life of John F. Reinmiller, Union veteran.

——— ———, *News-Herald*
Nov. 24. Roll of honor—Joplin boys who lost lives in service; also war honors.

Jefferson County. Hillsboro, *Jefferson County Record*
Sept. 26. "Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—" Some reminiscences of Jefferson County 70 years ago.
Fiftieth Anniversary—Short sketch of Evangelical St. Martin's Church of High Ridge, Missouri.

Johnson County. Warrensburg, *Standard-Herald*
March 28. Sketch of the life or Mel P. Moody, Missouri editor.

——— ———, *Star-Journal*
March 21. Sketch of the life of Dr. R. D. Shannon, former State Superintendent of Schools.
April 8. The Kansas Redlegs; story of the year (1874) when Missouri was visited by grasshoppers.

Lafayette County. Higginsville, *Advance*
Feb. 7. The *Advance* has a birthday; a few historical facts.

——— Lexington, *Intelligencer*
Nov. 8. Sketch of the life of W. G. McCausland, former county official and Confederate veteran. See also Lexington *News* for December 12.
Dec. 13. Sketch of the life of Samuel A. Andrew, former county official and Confederate veteran. See also Lexington *News* for December 12.

——— ———, *News*
Aug. 1. Sketch of the life of John P. Ardinger, Confederate veteran.
Sept. 12. Sketch of the life of Col. Hunter Ben Jenkins, pioneer river man.

Feb. 27. Founding of pioneer paper was romantic; sketch of the founding of the *Missouri Intelligencer* in 1819.
A printer for 70 years, with incidental description of pioneer days.

——— Odessa, *Democrat*
March 28. When West was wild; a pioneer Missourian tells of experience with Indians in 1852.
April 18. Sketch of the life of A. W. Stevens, Confederate veteran.
April 25. Erected in pioneer days; description of farm house built in 1843.

——— Wellington, *News*
Oct. 10. Pershing's boyhood index to his career—Sketch of Pershing as a youth.

Lawrence County. Aurora, *Advertiser*

Sept. 5. Sketch of the life of George W. Rinker, pioneer citizen and former county and State official.

Lewis County. Monticello, *Lewis County Journal*

Nov. 8. A brief history of the *Journal*

Lincoln County. Elsberry *Democrat.*

Sept. 13. Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Stephens, Union veteran.

Dec. 13. Recalls Louisville battle; reprinted from Bowling Green *Times.*

March 7. Sold papers in Civil War, remembrances of William Thompson who was paper boy in 1864. Reprinted from the St. Louis *Republic.*

March 14. River tragedy recalled; sinking of towboat Dictator on the Mississippi on April 2, 1876.

April 4. Sketch of the life of Columbus Eastin, pioneer citizen.

April 25. The Lincoln-Douglas debate; a comparison of it with the Lodge-Howell debate on the League of Nations.

——————— Troy, *Free Press*

April 4. Sketch of the life of Andrew Perkins (colored), Union veteran.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*

Aug. 3. A watchful waiting—Civil War recollections; continued under various headings in issues of August 10, 17, 24, 31; September 7, 14, 21, 28; October 5, 12, 19, 26.

Nov. 16. Fighting Americans—Some comparisons with Civil War days.

Dec. 7. Nearing the border. Canteen work in the Civil War.

Dec. 21. On the battle line. Civil war reminiscences.

April 12. Sketch of the life of Henry C. Bargar, Union veteran.

——————— Browning, *Leader-Record*

March 6. Pioneer days in Linn County; reminiscences of life in 1834.

——————— Bucklin, *Herald*

April 25. A sale of 70 years ago—Items and prices of 1846. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic.*

——————— Laclede, *Blade*

Sept. 3. The Pershing family tree—Some data regarding the ancestry of General Pershing.

——————— Linneus, *Bulletin*

Aug. 1. Sketch of the life of T. D. Evans, pioneer citizen and former county and State official.

Dec. 19. Will be 85 on Christmas day. A sketch of the life of Thomas Benton Bowyer, the first white child born in Linn County.

——————— ———————, *Linn County News*

Feb. 28. Civil War tragedy; an incident of 1864 at Brookfield. See also Chillicothe *Weekly Constitution* for March 6.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Weekly Tribune*

March 5. When land was cheap in Missouri—Prices of 1898.

Macon County. Bevier, *Appeal*
Aug. 16. Sketch of the life of I. S. Keith, Union veteran.

——— Macon, *Republican*
Jan. 10. When Bob Steward build the "Jo" road. How Governor Stewart boosted the Hannibal and St. Joe railroad into a successful existence. Reprinted from Utica, N. Y., *Globe*.
Feb. 28. Four constitutional conventions held; data concerning various conventions by J. R. Letcher.
The oldest justice in Macon County; with sketch of Mercyville, "lost town" of Macon County.

Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News*
April 17. An old newspaper; contents of the Fredericktown *Conservator* for May 29, 1868.

Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post*
Oct. 12. Marion County man is made Brigadier-General. Short sketch of Wm. Payne Jackson, with photo.

——— Palmyra, *Marion County Herald*
Nov. 27. An old time mill—Description of pioneer days.

——— ———, *Spectator*
Oct. 9. An incident of the Civil War.
Feb. 26. Constitution's makers in 1875. Reprinted from Macon *Republican*.
April 2. The story of Old Bethel, a communistic colony founded in Shelby County in 1845. Reprinted from Shelbyville *Herald*.
Missouri's coat of arms; a short history. Reprinted from Fayette *Advertiser*.
April 30. Mark Twain on "Female Suffrage."

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph*
March 5. Mormon history and settlement, by E. H. Dunlap. Reprinted From Gallatin *Democrat*.

Miller County. Tuscumbia, *Miller County Autogram*
April 17. Miller County 98 years ago.

Mississippi County. Potosi, *Journal*
Sept. 11. Mine La Motte closed—With some historical data.
Oct. 2. A more correct history—Sketch of the life of John Evens, 1797-1878.
Oct. 23. Sketch of the life of David R. Buckley, pioneer citizen and county official.

Moniteau County. California, *Democrat*
March 6. Organized 74 years ago; some historical notes concerning Moniteau County.
April 10. Old attorneys at the Moniteau County bar; reminiscences of Judge Hicks and of Philips, Vest and Hicks.

——— ———, *Moniteau County Herald*
March 6. Attorney Wood, Moniteau County's historian, talks. Stories of early days in Moniteau County.

Monroe County. Paris, *Mercury*
Nov. 8. An old time Monroe County mill; reprinted from the Mexico *Intilligencer*.
Feb. 28. Some Paris history; sketch of the Glenn House, Paris' oldest hotel, built in 1857.
March 21. The story of Old Bethel (Shelby County).

——— ———, *Monroe County Appeal*
Sept. 6. Battles not in history—Stories of Indian fighting in Montana. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Times*.

——— Monroe City, *News*
March 7. City is 62 years old; short historical sketch of Monroe City.
March 18. Used "Gott Mit Uns" as a slogan long ago. Sketch of the communistic settlement of Old Bethel in 1845. An unusual chapter in Shelby County history.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Montgomery Standard*
Aug. 2. Champ Clark's race for Congress. Reprinted from Clark's autobiography in *Hearst's Magazine*.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Statesman*
Aug. 15. Sketch of the life of John Raines, Union veteran.
March 27. Boyler's mill sold; with short sketch of Morgan County landmark.

Newton County. Neosho, *Times*
Feb. 13. Old time darky melodies.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Democrat*
Nov. 19. Sketch of the life of Dr. Q. A. Tipton, Confederate veteran.

Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican*.
April 17. Sketch of the life of Emile P. Colin, Union veteran.

Pettis County. Sedalia, *Capital*
Oct. 30. Sketch of the life of Frank C. Hayman, former State senator.
Nov. 1. A little patriot in the Civil War. An incident of '61.
Nov. 11. Is U. S. Hero, born in Missouri. A sketch of Col. John Henry Parker of California, Missouri.
Nov. 12. After Civil War. Coincidence in celebration of peace in 1918 and 1865 at Fulton.
Nov. 14. Sketch of the life of Prof. C. W. Robbins, founder and president of Central Business College at Sedalia.
Nov. 18. Pershing of Missouri—an editorial tribute. Reprinted from St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*.
Dec. 21. Sketch of the life of N. H. Rogers, Union veteran and former State senator.

——— ———, *Democrat*
March 13. Sketch of the life of Judge John F. Philips. See also Sedalia *Capital* for March 14.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*

Aug. 1. Times history column—The Slicker War. Aug. 8, Courts and forms of government in early days. August 15, Battle at Ashley. Imprisonment for debt inPike County. August 22, Supreme Court Judges from Pike County. Missouri governors who committed suicide. Early newspapers of Pike County. August 29, Governor Merriwether Lewis, his love life with Theodosia Burr, her father's acquittal of treason, his murder or suicide, which? Continued in issue of September 5. September 12, Evening Star Lodge No. 243, Independent Order of Good Templars—historical sketch. September 19, George Rogers Clark, a short sketch. Continued in issue of September 26. October 10, Pleasant memories—of pioneers of Pike County. October 17, a Pike County prairie fire. October 24, Missouri's war with the United States—some Civil War history. October 31, The Battle of Ashley.

Aug. 8. Baptist Church history.

Nov. 7. Duels of early Missouri days. Account of the one between Senator Benton and Charles Lucas.

Nov. 14. The Ashley battle—a Civil War incident. See also issue of January 23.

Nov. 21. An account of the Rector-Barton duel and the Leonard-Berry duel.

Nov. 28. Bowling Green at the time of the Civil War. Continued in issues of December 19 and January 30.

Dec. 5. The Copenhaver battle, November, 1862.

Dec. 12. State Capitols.

Dec. 26. Interesting facts of early Pike County.

Jan. 2. Rambling reminiscences of early days.

Jan. 9. Camp Meeting at Antioch. Reprinted from the Cumberland Presbyterian of September 25, 1902.

Feb. 13. Old pioneers of Pike County; a list of citizens of 1822-24.

Feb. 20. History of American land titles prior to Revolutionary War. Continued in issue of March 13.

Feb. 27. First meeting of Athenaeum Society at Watson Seminary 35 years ago.

March 6. An old program; Pike Academy, July 3, 1866.

March 20. History of a pioneer settler—James Chamberlain.

March 27. Reminiscences of Pike County.

April 3. History of the Great Seal of Missouri. Reprinted from the Butler *Democrat*.

April 17. Sketch of Michael J. Noyes, editor of Pike County's first newspaper (*Salt River Journal*) and former county official.

——————— Louisiana, *Press-Journal*

Jan. 16. Sketch of the life of Francis Thornton Meriwether, Confederate veteran.

March 27. Sketch of the life of Dr. R. F. Shannon, former State official.

April 3. History of the Great Seal of Missouri; reprinted from the Butler *Democrat*.

April 17. 59 years in ministry; reminiscences of early day churches in Missouri, by Elder E. J. Lampton.

Platte County. Edgerton, *Journal*

Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of A. M. I. Handley, Confederate veteran.

April 25. A letter written 63 years ago. Gives good description of pioneer conditions in rural Missouri, together with prices of staple products in 1856.

——————— Platte City, *Platte County Argus*

Sept. 12. Well remembered address by R. P. C. Wilson—Memories of the 100th anniversary of Thomas Jones, who died October 1, 1888, aged 104.

April 24. Incidents in the life of Mrs. Missouri Norton; reminiscences of early days in Missouri.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Republican*

Dec. 11. Sketch of the life of Myron Smith Towne, Union veteran. See also Unionville, *Putnam County Journal* of December 13.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Record*

March 14. Lost town still platted; short history of Jonesburg, Monroe County. Reprinted from Paris *Mercury*.

——————— Perry, *Enterprise*

Aug. 1. Reminiscences by W. R. Poage—of various places and events during early days in Ralls County.

March 6. Some Paris history; sketch of the Glenn House at Paris. Reprinted from the Paris *Mercury*.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*

Aug. 16. Recalls wedding of 1860—Marriage of Rev. and Mrs. J. T. Lingo.

Aug. 30. Missouri soldier 100 years ago; reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.

April 4. Old timer's reminiscences; A. F. Benton recalls early days in Randolph County.

Ray County. Lawson, *Review*

March 20. Schools (near Lawson) of 40 years ago.

——————— Richmond, *Conservator*

March 20. History of the Great Seal of Missouri; reprinted from the Butler *Democrat*.

April 17. History of the life of Judge Divelbiss.

Aug. 1. Account of the unveiling of the Doniphan statue, together with photograph of statue and complete address of Governor Gardner delivered upon the occasion.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News*

Oct. 3. St. John's Church founded in 1868—Historical data. See also St. Charles *Cosmos-Monitor* for October 2.

——————— ———————, *Cosmos-Monitor*

Sept. 4. Historical sketch of First Presbyterian Church of St. Charles, founded August 29, 1818.

Feb. 5. Sketch of the life of Lieut.-Gen. John Coalter Bates.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal*

Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of James M. Mock, Union veteran.

Feb. 3. Sketch of the life of Robert N. Burns, pioneer business man and former city official.

——— Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat*

Sept. 12. Election notice regarding compromise of railroad bonded debt of St. Clair County (Teby & Neosho Railroad Company, 1860).

March 6. Sketch of the life of Thomas Moore Johnson, eminent philosopher and student. See also Osecola *St. Clair County Republican* for March 6.

St. Louis County. Clayton, *Argus*

Jan. 31. Sketch of the life of Philander P. Lewis, State official.

St. Louis City. *Church Progress*

Dec. 19. Special edition commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. History of the church, its activities and leaders during the century.

March 13. Quaint Sainte Genevieve, a colonial town of Missouri—a historical sketch, continued in issue of March 20.

April 10. A Palm Sunday sermon of almost a hundred years ago; delivered by Rev. Francis Niel in 1824 at the Cathedral of Bishop du Bourg.

——— *Globe-Democrat*

Nov. 3. Mississippi River barge line recalls time when stream was shining social and business highway to the gulf. Stories of river activities of 60 years ago.

Nov. 11. "Gatling-Gun" Parker, newest U. S. war hero, is native Missourian. Story of heroism of Col. J. H. Parker of California, Missouri.

Nov. 25. Sketch of the life of Thomas A. Sherwood, judge of the Missouri Supreme Court for 30 years.

Dec. 1. Pershing always knew best melon patch. Boyhood characterization of the General.

Dec. 20. Sketch of the life of Charles H. McKee, president and editor of the *Globe-Democrat*. See also the *Republic* for December 20.

Dec. 25. Pershing like Martel in crushing German evil, General Bliss says. Remarks of General Bliss in presenting D. S. M., awarded to General Pershing by President Wilson.

Dec. 29. Mercantile Library 73 years old; with short sketch of institution.

Jan. 5. Loretto Academy at Florissant is destroyed by fire—with some historical data.

Jan. 19. Prince of Wales on visit to St. Louis 58 years ago.

April 20. Presbyterianism began in St. Louis in 1811 when city was trading post; historical facts concerning church in St. Louis.

——— *Post-Dispatch*

Sept. 8. When St. Louis spent $37 entertaining Lafayette.

Dec. 1. Motor car fatalities in St. Louis.

Dec. 5.	Missouri lands for soldier farmers. Some description of reclaimed swamp lands in Southeast Missouri.
Jan. 19.	How St. Louis and Missouri doctors served in the war.
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April 27.	Father Brennan tells of his 50 years as priest in St. Louis.
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Dec. 13. Early days in Missouri—Stories of early explorations.
Jan. 7. How the war of 1812 was waged in Missouri. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.
Jan. 17. Royalty visited America. Account of the visit of the Prince of Wales to the United States and Missouri in 1860. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.

Shannon County. Eminence, *Current Wave*
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Shelby County. Clarence, *Courier*
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——— Shelbina, *Democrat*
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Feb. 26. 60th Anniversary of Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad; some historical notes. See also the Shelbina *Shelby County News* for February 14.
March 26. Shelby County's Alsace-Lorraine; an incident in the early history of Monroe and Shelby Counties.
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THE
MISSOURI HISTORICAL
REVIEW

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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CONTRIBTUTORS.

E. W. Stephens, journalist, author and historian, is already well known to the readers of this magazine. As moderator of the Baptist General Association of Missouri and as president of the General Baptist Convention of North America, he is, perhaps, the greatest Baptist layman in this country.

Robert A. Glenn is in charge of war history and records in the office of the adjutant-general of Missouri.

J. Willard Ridings is in charge of the newspaper department of The State Historical Society of Missouri.

William G. Bek, a native Missourian, is head of the department of Germanic languages in the University of North Dakota. His contributions, brochures and translations relating to German settlements in the United States place him among the highest authorities in this line of historical research. His translation of "Duden's Report," lately published in the Review is regarded by scholars as one of the most important contributions to western history that has appeared in recent years.

Rollin J. Britton, a lawyer of Kansas City, is a recognized authority on Mormonism in Missouri. During his residence in Daviess county be began his researches in this field. The fruit of his many years of labor is presented to the readers of the Review.

John N. Edwards (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the State has produced.

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LITTLE BONNE FEMME CHURCH

BOONE COUNTY, MISSOURI

ADDRESS BY E. W. STEPHENS AT ITS CENTENNIAL, AUGUST 28, 1919

The history of Bonne Femme Baptist Church is one of the most unique and interesting in the annals of Missouri. Its beautiful name recalls the earliest chapter in the history of the state.

The first exploration by white men of what was then known as the Louisiana Territory was made by the French in 1707. They ascended that year the Missouri River and named most of the streams and many points for nearly two hundred miles into the interior.

Among other names were the Loutre, Femme Osage, Cote San dessein, Roche Percee, Moniteau, Chariton, Lamine, Aux Vasse, Petite Saline and Grand and Petite Bonne Femme, meaning "Little Good Woman." This church acquired its name from the stream on which it stands.

It is not improbable that the above names were French translations from the Indian language. "Little Good Woman" sounds very like Indian.

It was organized at the house of Anderson Woods on the first Sunday in December, 1819. Its constituent members were: David Doyle, Anderson Woods, Elizabeth Woods,

James Harris, Mourning Harris, Polly Harris, Elizabeth Kennon, John Maupin, Elias Elston, Matthew Haley, Jane Tuttle, Lazarus Wilcox, Lucy Wilcox, James Wiseman, Thomas S. Tuttle, Nancy Tuttle.

Lazarus Wilcox was the first clerk and held the position until his death, some sixteen years afterward. He and Anderson Woods were the first deacons. They were also two of the first members of the Boone County Court. Overton Harris, one among the first members of the church, was the first sheriff of the county, and Warren Woodson, first county clerk, was a staunch brother-in-law, having married a daughter of Col. James McClelland, one of the first members. Elias Elston, another constituent member, was one of the first members of the Missouri Legislature. James Harris was Justice of Peace of Moniteau township of Howard County comprising present limits of Boone County. These facts are indicative of the strength of the Baptists among the early settlers.

The only other Baptist churches in existence in this section at that time were Mount Zion, Mount Pleasant, Bethel and Concord.

Bonne Femme was the second church organized within the bounds of what is now Boone County, Bethel having been organized June 28, 1817, in Thrall's Prairie in the western part of the county, where the first settlement of what is now Boone County was made. Among those who organized Bethel were Anderson Woods, Overton and James Harris and others who about 1818 or 1819 moved to the Two Mile prairie where was gathering a population marked for its high order. These two sections of the county were among its most fertile and attractive and were the first occupied.

At that time Boone County had not been organized and Columbia was not laid out until sixteen months afterwards. Smithton, which preceded Columbia, was laid out that year. Missouri was not a state.

Among its early preachers, were William Thorp, Peter Woods, Ebenezer Rogers, Thomas Campbell, Robert Dale, Edward Turner, Luke Williams. David Doyle was the first pastor and filled that office longer and oftener than any other minister, occupying the place as pastor at different times until 1844.

The church met at the residences of Overton Harris, James Harris, Thomas S. Tuttle and others until it had a building of its own. A log building was begun upon the present site about 1820, but was not finished and seated for six or seven years. It was twenty feet square, with a fireplace, one door, one window and puncheon floor.

In 1822 Col. James McClelland donated the ground upon which the church has stood since that time.

Anderson Woods was licensed to exhort in 1823, was ordained a few months afterward, and preached often to the church until he was dismissed by letter in 1828. In 1835 he removed to Monroe County.

In 1823 Dr. William Jewell, who was a member of the church, became involved in a controversy with Mason Moss and Col. James McClelland and got out a handbill in which he denounced them as quack doctors who claimed to have supernatural gifts and magic arts. He was brought before the church and acknowledged his error, but repeated the offense afterwards. The church, however, agreed to "look over" it, but he withdrew from the church in November, 1823, and with eleven others organized the Columbia church. The following also withdrew in order to co-operate with him in organizing the Columbia church on November 22, 1823: Charles Hardin and wife, Harriet Goodloe, William Ridgway and Henry Cave. The following were sent to aid in organizing the Columbia church: David Doyle, Anderson Woods, Lazarus Wilcox, Mason Moss and James Harris.

The church had frequent cases of discipline. The principal offenses seem to have been dancing, fighting, and trouble between husbands and wives, who usually made up before the church had time to act. There were many negroes among the members and they were in frequent evidence in matters of discipline.

Ministers were not paid any salaries until about 1835, when a movement was made in that direction.

Dr. Robert S. Thomas, who came in the early thirties to take charge of Bonne Femme Academy, preached for the church at intervals for ten years.

In May, 1839, while Dr. Thomas was pastor, a movement was started to build a brick meeting house to be 30x50 feet with an entrance on each side of the pulpit, which was in the east of the building, and two aisles extending to banisters which separated whites from the colored people.

On account of differences on the subject of missions in 1838 the church withdrew from Salem Association and in 1839 Little Bonne Femme Association was organized at Brick Providence Church, Callaway County. First delegates from Bonne Femme were Thomas Beazley, Littleton Victor and Overton Harris.

The next year the association was held at Bonne Femme and the organization completed. It is an interesting fact that the preliminary meeting of the General Association of Missouri was held at Providence, but its organization also was completed the next year at Bonne Femme, which thus was the church in which both associations were fully organized.

It was not until 1842 that the movement to erect the brick building was formally inaugurated. Thomas Beazley, Gilpin S. Tuttle and Overton Harris were appointed building committee. The structure was finished in about 1845.

In 1842 Rev. S. H. Ford presented license as preacher, and was ordained that year in the church and preached at times afterward to the congregation. He was a man of genius and became afterwards distinguished as editor, author and preacher.

It is the oldest Church in Little Bonne Femme Association and among the oldest in the state. It is beautifully located and in one of the most intelligent and progressive communities in the state. Its building, its surroundings and its history render it an ideal country church. In 1844 it had a membership of 256 members.

Many churches have grown out of it. Among them have been Cedar in 1821, Columbia in 1823, New Salem in 1828, Nashville, Union and others. It has been indeed the mother of churches and from it have gone forth many of the finest men and women in this and other states.

Among its ministers have been the following: David Doyle, Anderson Woods, Luke Williams, James Suggett, Robert S. Thomas, Peter Woods, S. H. Ford, Noah Flood, M. Modisett, Tyre C. Harris, J. M. Robinson, J. T. Williams, J. M. McGuire, G. L. Black, N. S. Johnston, J. T. M. Johnston, S. H. Pollard, T. W. Barrett, J. E. Chambliss, J. R. Pentuff, J. S. Conner, G. W. Hatcher, S. F. Taylor and perhaps others. Nearly every prominent Baptist minister in the first fifty years of the history of the church in this state at some time filled its pulpit.

Among the clerks of the church have been Lazarus Wilcox, Waller S. Woolfolk, David H. Hickman, Thomas H. Hickman, Thomas S. Tuttle, and others.

Among these one of those longest in service was David H. Hickman, who held the place from 1842 until 1869, a short time before his death, a period of twenty-seven years, rarely missing a meeting although he was in control of large financial interests and was one of the most active and influential citizens the county has ever had. In Columbia was another man who, likewise, was eminent in the history of the state, William Jewell, who was clerk of that church for about the same length of time that David H. Hickman served Bonne Femme, from 1823 to 1849.

The records of both churches during that period are models of neatness and are an evidence of how men who are effective in secular life can apply similar methods to church service.

Thomas H. Hickman, brother of David H. Hickman, held the position of clerk from 1869 until 1911, when he died, having been longer in official service of the church than any other member.

BONNE FEMME ACADEMY

The community in which Bonne Femme Church is located has always been marked for its intelligence, its prosperity and its culture. Many of the finest citizens of Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky sought the fertile country that surrounded it in those pioneer days and proceeded to develop a social life very akin to that of the famous Blue Grass region of Kentucky.

It is not strange, therefore, that in addition to a deep religious spirit they manifested a profound interest in education of the higher order. They were the forerunners of the period which brought the State University to the county and they planted the first seed for higher education in this county when they organized an academy and erected a building on the ground upon which the church stands.

The first session opened in May, 1829, with Warren Woodson as teacher. He was a kinsman of Judge Warren Woodson who for forty years was clerk of the Boone County Court.

The first trustees of the Academy were Mason Moss, William Shields, Robert S. Barr, Andrew McPheters and Sinclair Kirtley. The building was of brick with two rooms, each 22 feet square. It was located about 200 feet east of the church building. The school was coeducational. The sessions comprised two terms of five and one-half months each and the tuition fees were for the two terms $8.00 for reading, writing and arithmetic; $12.00 for grammar, geography and the higher mathematics, and $18.00 for Latin. Board was $1.13 per week.

Think of it! In these days of high cost of living, $1.13 per week, and such board as it was, in those days when canned goods and cold storage were unknown, and when the tables groaned with the opulent products of the virgin soil. Game of all kinds formed a part of the menu and all was prepared by that original and greatest of all kitchen artists, the old Virginia or Kentucky negro cook. Slavery had its evils, but it had its blessings also in a rural domestic life. All of which recalls the names of many of the fine old families resident in this section, the Hickmans, the Basses, the Woolfolks, the Bradfords, the Jenkinses, the Mosses, the Johnstons, the Ellises, the Courtrights, and McClellands, the Fishers, the Robnetts, the Harrises, the Hadens, and many others, some of whom remain unto this day.

No wonder the bright young men and women sought Bonne Femme when they knew that even its Pierian founts of education or its sources of Divine grace were scarcely more attractive than was its social life at $1.13 per week. For, added to the bounties of the kitchen and the table, there were attractions in the parlor, a wealth of beauty and a social life that has had few counterparts in the history of this or any other state.

In about 1830 Rev. R. S. Thomas, a Baptist minister and educator of high accomplishments, was chosen principal instructor. He was the first President of William Jewell College and a close friend of Dr. Jewell. It is altogether probable that this academy through Dr. Thomas led to the establishment of the college named in honor of Dr. Jewell, as it undoubtedly wrought a distinct influence in bringing the State University and the two women's colleges to Columbia. It started the first ball thereto in motion.

Dr. Thomas added rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy, chemistry, astronomy and Greek to the course of study and the academy at once became noted as an institution of high class and to it came many young men and women from the best families of this and other counties.

Among these students may be recalled the following: Charles H. Hardin, afterwards Governor, and Miss Mary B. Jenkins, whom he married; Silas Brent, distinguished in public life; John T. Hughes, famous in Doniphan's expedition to Mexico, and afterward as its historian; Bela M. Hughes, one of the founders of Denver; Mrs. James S. Rollins; Elders Winthrop Hobson and William H. Robinson, afterwards eminent preachers of the Christian Church; Gen. Odon Guitar, Col. James H. Moss, David H. Hickman, Ex-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds (governor during rebellion); Judge Robert B. Todd, Miss Elizabeth Moss, afterwards Mrs. Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky; Miss Mary Moss, afterwards Mrs. Judge Logan Hunton of St. Louis; Robert L. Todd, Col. James R. Shields, Prof. William C. Shields, Judge James Harris, and many others who afterwards became eminent in the history of this and other states.

The trustees in 1837 were William Shields, David M. Hickman, Theoderick Jenkins, John H. Field. Afterwards Gilpin S. Tuttle, David S. Lamme, William P. Crocker, Waller L. Woolfolk and Austin Bradford became trustees.

After the retirement of Dr. Thomas, Oliver Cunningham, Joseph Bowers, Prof. John Roche and Prof. George C. Pratt became teachers.

In the Columbia Patriot of October 16, 1841, is an account of an exhibition and examination in which is a report of an address in Latin by John T. Hughes, of readings in Greek by J. J. Harvey of Saline and Miss Mary B. Jenkins, and of essays by Miss Laura Shields, Franklin Hughes and others.

The academy passed out of existence not many years after the opening of the State University in Columbia in 1841, but its influence for a higher social life and its stimulus to a nobler culture has been a marked inheritance of this community and county.

Thus the glory of Bonne Femme, which places it in a class to itself among the pioneer churches of Missouri, has been that in those early days of limited facilities in both education and religion it had a high ideal, a vision of greater things and in both church and state it lighted fires that will never be extinguished.

THE OSAGE WAR

BY ROBERT A. GLENN

The Osage War might be called Missouri's forgotten war so far as historians have given it notice.* Several explanations may be made. In 1837 the capitol building in Jefferson City burned, and with it, undoubtedly, were destroyed many of the records of the state military of that time. The Osage War was not a sanguinary conflict, and it was more or less overshadowed by the Seminole expedition which was undertaken at the same time—the fall of 1837. But the Osage War was none the less significant—for it marked the final determined effort of the people of Missouri to rid the state forever of the Red Man, and to make it safe for the thousands upon thousands of white settlers who were pouring into the state at a rate that doubled the population every ten years. The Osage War did this, and modern Missouri history might well date from this event.

In 1808 there were in Missouri in excess of 20,000 Indians, it is estimated, made up of tribes of Osages, Missouris, Iowas, Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, Shawnees, and Delawares. In this year, the United States government effected an important treaty with these tribes, whereby they renounced their claims to land in the state, with the exception of a small strip in the extreme western portion. They agreed to migrate west of a line drawn from Ft. Osage, now Sibley, south to the

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*John C. McCoy, the pioneer of Jackson county and seller of town lots in the once famous Westport, is the historian of the Osage War of 1836. In 1871, he said: "This little war has been overlooked for the last 30 years. It was a military raid from the border against the Osage Indians. Some of the ruthless savages committed murder upon several hogs belonging to settlers near Westport. The command numbered 560 officers and men, consisting of one major general, two brigadiers, four colonels, besides lieutenant colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, chaplains, surgeons, etc., ad infinitum, being 98 officers to command 432 privates. It is needless to say the expedition was a success. Old Girard's squaws, papooses and other savages, if still living, have a sorrowful recollection that the way of the transgressor is hard." Walter B. Stevens, *Missouri The Center State*, Vol. II, p. 707.

Arkansas river—the line roughly dissecting the western tier of Missouri counties. The Osages were particularly populous in what are now Bates and Vernon counties, having a large village seven miles northeast of Nevada and another three miles north of Balltown. Despite the treaty a number of them remained in Benton county as late as 1835, and until 1837 there were repeated hunting incursions in the splendid hunting grounds to be found in Benton, Henry, St. Clair and Polk counties. In 1824 they relinquished in title the narrow strip they held along the Kansas border, but, as was to be seen, the agreement was punctured with frequent forays into the white settlements, attended by plundering, pillaging, thieving of all descriptions, and frequently murder. This harassing situation is set forth in the following memorial of the General Assembly of Missouri of 1841, asking the Federal government to reimburse the state for the cost of the Osage War, the state holding that the condition which made the war necessary was one created by the national government:

A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

Requesting a reimbursement of money paid by this State in repelling an incursion of the Osage Indians

To the Congress of the United States:

"Your memorialists, the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, respectfully represent that the policy of the general government has, during a course of many years, placed upon the borders of Missouri and Arkansas an immense number of Indians, nearly equal by actual computation to the effective population of these two states. This policy, which yearly receives the sanction and adoption on the part of the Federal government, has exposed our frontier to great and imminent peril, a peril from which the few forces of the United States upon our line are utterly unable to protect our citizens. From a painful experience we have learned that whenever a year of scarcity occurs among the Indians, the settlements of the whites become the theatres of their predatory excursions, and the retaliation which is thus provoked leads to a murderous warfare.

"In the year 1837, an incursion was made of this character on the part of the Osages into the Southwestern portion of our state, which it became necessary for the military authorities of this state to repel. Under the known rule of Indian warfare, which consists of a sudden and unexpected inroad, an exterminating massacre and a precipitate retreat, the military force of the United States, at that period in our state, could not be summoned in time to meet the danger, and our only resource for defence and expulsion was in our state militia. In the prosecution, however, of this expedition the State of Missouri was compelled to sustain and liquidate all the costs of the forces thus raised to defend the frontier, and protect its citizens, which costs amounted to the sum of ($21,146.92) twenty-one thousand, one hundred forty-six dollars and ninety-two cents. Your memorialists, in presenting to Congress this statement of facts, respectfully ask that Congress will relieve the State of Missouri from payment of this burden. They scarcely think it necessary to remind your honorable body of the selfish and cruel policy of accumulating thousands of savages on our line and leaving us to defend ourselves, as best we may, against the inroads and incursions with which our frontier is yearly threatened. It must present itself to every mind, as partial, oppressive to our citizens, and ruinous to the best interests of our state. If the wisdom of Congress has placed these savages on our line, it should equally, by the strictest justice and the letter of the Constitution have protected us against their invasion. But if the general government, from the suddenness of the Indian's attacks, or the small force which is stationed on our border, is unable to protect us from such an invasion, and it becomes necessary for this state to guard its own interests, then, as your memorialists respectfully suggest, an obligation under the Constitution arises upon the part of the general government to indemnify this state for any loss which it may thus have sustained. Any construction to the contrary would, by operating as a constant drain upon our public resources, drive us to the necessity of high taxation, or an enormous debt, or would compel us to seize the first outrage of the Indians as opportunity for an exterminating war.

"Your memorialists close this petition with a request that Congress pass a law relieving the state of this debt, and providing for the reimbursing the amount which has been paid to the troops called into the service of the state as before mentioned, and as in duty, etc.";

Approved Feb. 11, 1841.

LAWS OF MISSOURI, 1838-1840.

While the Osage War was directed chiefly toward the tribes bearing that name it was by no means confined to them. In the early part of the nineteenth century there were numerous tribes of Shawnee and Delaware Indians in Perry and

Cape Girardeau counties in the southeastern portion of the state. By 1823 they had migrated westward into Christian and Stone counties, and in 1830 they were induced by the Federal government to move into Kansas. But like the Osages they continued from time to time to return and annoy the white pioneers.

Missouri's Indian problem was made more complex by the policy of the Federal government in the late Twenties and early Thirties in moving all Indian tribes east of the Mississippi to the West. Missouri was the gateway in this movement, and to her already large Indian population, it is estimated 30,000 more were added in this period.

In 1837, Hon. Lilburn W. Boggs was governor. He was a St. Louisan who had accumulated wealth in trading with the Indians, and was conversed in their ways. He had been lieutenant-governor previous to his election, and was regarded as a firm executive, and a man of action likely to settle the Indian problem. Wherefore in September, 1837, when he received word of depredations by the Osages in western Missouri, he decided to call out the militia. The mission was charged to Major General Samuel D. Lucas, commanding the Fourth Division, Missouri Militia. His report of the expedition, from the original on file in the office of the adjutant general in Jefferson City, is as follows:

"His Excellency L. W. Boggs,
Commander in Chief,
Missouri Militia.

Sir:

"You will receive herewith the returns of the volunteers of the 4th Division, Missouri Militia, ordered out the 16th of September, 1837, together with the returns of the Divisional Quartermaster. The troops rendezvous'd on Grand river fifty miles south of Independence on the 24th of October, 1837. On the evening of the same day, before the men were mustered into service, I received information that a party of Indians had been seen that day on Deer Creek about three miles from our encampment. Upon receiving this information I ordered out a detachment of one hundred men to go in pursuit of them, which I divided into two parties, to one of which I assigned Brig. Gen. M. G. Wilson to command, with orders to scout the north side of said creek and to meet the other party at a bridge on said creek about five miles above where the old Harmony Mission Trace crosses. I took command of the other part of the detachment and crossed said creek at the old trace and scoured the country on the south side up to said bridge. In our search we took one Indian prisoner from whom we ascertained the direction of their main camp. The detachment aganf got together at the bridge aforesaid, where we took up our line io march for the camp of the main body of Indians, using the prisoner as a guide. We found their camp about 6 or 8 miles west of the bridge on Deer creek, containing about 30 Indians. They evinced considerable signs of hostility when we first approached, each warrior taking a tree with his gun and implements of war about him and one of them cocked his gun and raised it to fire, but upon his seeing some 15 or 20 guns presented in the direction he was, he took it down and the whole party surrendered. We marched them into camp about 10:00 at night on the 29th of October.

"The men being mustered into service and the troops organized I took up the line of march for the Marmitaw River,* previous to the main army's marching on said morning. I sent a detachment of three companies under the command of Brig. Gen. Wm. B. Almond in pursuit of a band of Indians that I was told had been committing depredations on Mound Branch Creek east of the Harmony Road. I kept out from two to three detachments every day and scoured the whole country on each side of the Harmony Mission Road for from 10 to 20 miles. Every detachment that I sent out brought in more or less prisoners and all reported fresh Indian signs in the country and judging from the signs that there was a large body of Indians within our borders. The 29th of October we arrived at Harmony Mission House. On that day I sent Brig. Gen. Wilson to Deepwater country with a detachment of four companies after a party of Indians that it was reported to me were then committing depredations in that section of the country. We found a good deal of excitement amongst the French and half-breed Indians in the vicinity of Harmony, and from observation and information, believe that they sent runners all through the country to inform the Indians of our approach and to advise them to leave the country or to elude our search. The day we left Harmony the smoke from their fire appeared to be receding, which confirmed our belief in the part the French and the half-breeds had taken. The second day after leaving the Meridecine† we reached the Marmitaw River where I made my headquarters. I kept detachments out every day whilst we remained and scoured the whole country as far as Drywood Creek, some 30 miles southeast of our encampment on Marmitaw. We captured 101 Indians from Grand River to the Marmitaw River and during our stay there I have no doubt from the best information but what there was at the least calculation 1,000 Indians committing depredations on the settlers within the limits of the state when the troops reached the rendezvous on Grand River, and believe that if a small force of 150 or 200 men had been sent out against them that they would have had to have fought before they could have removed them. I received information from Mr. Papin, trader amongst the Osages (through Dr. Dodge) of their hostile threats and requesting me by all means to order out a large force that the Indians were more impudent in their threats than they ever had been before and that they intended to bring at least from 400 to 500 warriors with them. The Indians having heretofore committed depredations on the southern citizens for 8 or 9 years with impunity they naturally came to the conclusion that the whites were afraid of them and that when they sent their menacing threats through Mr. Papin that it would have the effect to frighten the whites to a quiet gait and they could commit depredations as formerly, but when they heard of and saw our army of 500 Mounted Riflemen marching to the assistance of their injured countrymen they took the alarm and fled from the country as fast as possible.

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*Marmitaw River, one of the headwater streams of the Osage River, rising in Kansas and flowing through the present county of Vernon, Missouri.

†Marais de Cygnes River, one of the headwater streams of the Osage River, arising in Kansas and flowing through what is now Bates County, Missouri. General Lucas was inclined to spell these French named streams phonetically.

"While at the Marmitaw I received information that there was a large party of Indians in the Spring River country committing depredations on that settlement. I sent a detachment of three companies under the command of Brig. Gen. Almond to scour that section of the country. He captured 200 Indians and put them outside of the state line. We captured in all 301 Indians, which were removed without the limits of the state after some explanations through an interpreter of the laws of the country on the subject of acting as they had been doing and what they might expect provided the men were called out again to remove them.

"The Indians expressed great astonishment at the number of white men and said they did not believe before that there could be as many men raised within the State of Missouri. The main body of the army was only out fifteen days, but owing to our strength I was able to keep out and send out detachments all the time and in every direction. I left no part of the country unexamined neither on our advance march to the frontier nor during our stay at the Marmitaw River and did not leave until we were well satisfied on that point. It would have required a force of 200 men at least six weeks or two months to have performed the same service, and in all probability they would have been compelled to have resorted to arms before the object of the expedition could have been accomplished. The citizens of our southwestern frontier have been badly treated. We found as respectable people living on the frontier aforesaid as any in Missouri. Men of exemplary habits and good moral character, and a remarkable fact is they are all, or mostly so, temperance men, who discountenance the use and traffic in *Ardent Spirits.* Such a class of citizens are worthy of and entitled to protection and the general government is bound to afford it, and not any longer disregard their exposed situation. The Dragoons* heretofore, they say, have afforded them no protection whatever and that their only dependence is upon the state authorities."

I have the honor to be, with high respect your obd't svt.,
SAM'L D. LUCAS,
Maj. Gen., 4th Div., M. M.

To His Excellency L. W. Boggs,
Commander in Chief,
Missouri Militia.

A few weeks later Governor Boggs received reports of Indian depredations from the extreme southwestern portion of the state. He decided to extend the war to this section. This mission was entrusted to the Seventh Division, Missouri Militia, Major General Joseph Powell, commanding. It operated from Springfield, the seat of Greene county.

One operation was entrusted to Col. Charles S. Yancey of the Greene county militia. Accompanied by Lieut. Col. Chesley Cannefax, Captain Henry Fulbright, and a company of a hundred men, Col. Yancey proceeded into the Stone Creek country, where he came on a large band of Indians, squaws and their young. They were ordered to move, but pleaded good behavior if allowed to remain. Col. Yancey returned to Springfield, but the fears of the white settlers in the vicinity of the Indian camp were not allayed, and on their pleas the removal of the Indians was ordered. Winter had advanced, and considerable suffering and hardship was experienced by the Indians, as they were led to the border of Arkansas and told to keep out of Missouri and observe their treaty agreements.

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*The Dragoons were the Federal troops. The Missouri General Assembly importuned the Federal government to replace the obsolete forts on the old Indian frontier in Illinois with a chain of forts along the Kansas-Missouri border. This was not done, but the chastising given the Indians and the show of force of the Missourians constituted a lesson which did much to mitigate the gravity of the border situation.

That the operations extended to Barry county is indicated by the following original documents on file in the office of the adjutant general in Jefferson City:

Order of Gov. Lilburn W. Boggs, to Adjutant General B. M. Lisle, Organizing the 83d Regiment of Barry County.

Executive Department,
City of Jefferson, Nov. 29, 1837.

To B. M. Lisle, Esq.,
Adjutant Gen'l.

Sir:—I have been informed by an express from Barry county that the militia of that county has not as yet been organized. You will therefore issue an order to Major General Powell, commanding the 7th Division, Mo. Militia, to cause a regiment to be organized in said county by dividing the same into proper number of companies and by the election of field and company officers. You will at the same time furnish him with the number of the regiment and direct the returns of the elections to be made immediately.

You will likewise direct Gen'l Powell to cause to be raised in the County of Barry a company of mounted volunteers, not exceeding one hundred men, to be armed and equipped according to law for the purpose of ranging on the frontier of that county until superseded by the troops of the United States for the purpose of removing any Indians found hunting or roaming within the limits of the state and for the protection of that portion of our frontier from Indian depredations.

The express will return tomorrow by whom you will please forward the foregoing orders.

Respectfully, yr obdt serv't, &.
Lilburn W. Boggs
Com-in-Chief.

Report of Major I. T. Shanks, brigade inspector, 1st Brigade, 7th Division, Missouri Militia, in mustering in a company of volunteers of Barry County, with endorsements.

I do hereby certify that agreeable to an order of Gen'l N. R. Smith, commander of the First Brigade, Seventh Division, M. M. I traveled to Mount Pleasant, the county seat of Barry County from Springfield, the county seat of Greene County, a distance of fifty miles in the going and fifty miles in the returning, for the purpose of mustering into the service a hundred volunteers and approving their horses by order of the commander-in-chief, M. M., to Gen'l Joseph Powell, commander of the 7th Division, M. M., and that I served four days in discharging that duty in December, 1837. I further certify that the above is correct upon the honor of an officer.

I. T. Shanks, Brigade Inspector,
1st Brigade, 7th Div., M. M.

Upon the honor of an officer, having examined the above return, I certify it to be correct.

N. R. Smith, Com.,
1st Brig., 7th Div., M. M.

Upon the honor of an officer, having examined the above return, I certify it to be correct.

Joseph Powell, Maj. Gen.,
7th Div., M. M.

Approved by G. S. Parsons,
for B. M. Lisle, Adj. Gen., M. M.

This militia company was organized evidently on report of Brig. Gen. A. F. Nall, who commanded an expedition that marched through Barry county to its seat at Sarcoxie, now in Jasper county, and thence north and eastward to Bolivar, in Polk county, where the troops were mustered out of service. Gen. Nall's report and muster rolls furnish the only record of the names of men who served in the Indian campaigns of 1837, the muster rolls of General Lucas presumably being lost in the fire that destroyed the capitol. The following is the report:

"By order of Major General Powell, commanding the 7th Division, Missouri Militia, a portion of the Second Brigade of said Division was mustered into the service of the State on the 14th day of November, 1837, when they were discharged in the town of Bolivar in Polk county, by order of Major General Joseph Powell, commanding 7th Division, Missouri Militia.

"The following is a list of the names and grades of officers and the names of the privates of the Second Brigade, 7th Division, Missouri Militia, mustered into service of the State of Missouri as aforesaid and continued in the service 18 days as mounted volunteers and discharged as aforesaid." The general's staff was listed as follows:

Brigadier General A. F. Nall,
Aide-de-camp Nicholas Munn,
Brigade Inspector William Jamison,
Brigade Judge Advocate William Henry,
Brigade Quartermaster S. H. Bunch,
Brigade Paymaster John Shannon,
Brigade Issuing Commissary E. M. Campbell,
Brigade Surgeon Louis Polk.

Under General Nall was Col. T. J. Shannon and staff, as follows: Adjutant J. W. Davis, Lieut. Col. J. L. Young, Major Levi A. Williams, Judge Advocate C. Luttrill, Quartermaster Sergeant William Owens, Color Bearer Mart Morgan, Trumpeter William Jones, Quartermaster Hugh Boyd, Sergt. Major William R. Hill, Paymaster Winfry Owens. The companies were officered as follows:

Capt. A. Morgan's company: Lieut. J. W. Jamison, Ensign J. H. Smallman.

Capt. Richard Sage's company: Lieut. James R. Allsup, Ensign Davis Fields and Sergeant James Appleby.

Capt. Gran C. Clark's company: Lieut. William Odell, Ensign Samuel W. Davis, 2nd Lieut. John McBroom, Sergt. William K. Latham.

Capt. Michael Randleman's company: Lieut. Elijah Benton, Ensign Sion S. Pritchett, 1st Sergt. Elias Parrott.

Capt. Levi A. Williams' company: Lieut. M. G. Campbell, Ensign A. Looney, Sergt. Alex Morgan.

LEIGH C. PALMER
U. S. Navy.

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—No. 8

REAR ADMIRAL LEIGH C. PALMER, U. S. N.

BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS.

It was during the Spanish-American war; the Merrimac was to be sunk in Santiago harbor and two young naval officers were chosen as rival candidates for the honor. Richmond Pearson Hobson won the distinction; the other officer was Leigh C. Palmer.

In preparation for Hobson's undertaking, Palmer was sent to inspect the enemy's guns, with orders to go no nearer than 500 yards. He was absent quite a while and succeeded in getting within 200 yards of the hostile ordnance. On his return he was taken to task for disobeying orders. His reply might be chosen as the motto of his whole life. "I did my duty," he said, "and a little more."

Leigh C. Palmer was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on January 11, 1873.* He received his education at the Stoddard School, the Polytechnic Institute and the old Central High School in that city.

At high school he is remembered for his distinguished bearing and good appearance. There were no athletics at the Central High School in those days, but it is said that he always carried himself erectly and almost always walked back and forth to school from his home on Twenty-seventh street. He took a prominent part in debating and oratory and his ardor as an orator won him the nickname of "Spartacus," from his fiery delivery of that gladiator's defiance to Rome. He was a member of the Boys' Debating Club, an important organization of that day, later succeeded by the Boys' Literary Society.

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*In a letter to this Society, Admiral Palmer states, "I was actually born in St. Louis, Missouri, on January 11, 1873, though I have noted some articles that stated in error that I was born in Ohio."

The author is especially indebted for material for this article to a biographical sketch of Rear Admiral Palmer which appeared in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* on June 30, 1918.

Schoolmates remember that he possessed a remarkable memory and that he was especially gifted in the acquirement of languages. It is said that today he speaks fluently eight different tongues. It is also recalled of him that he kept good hours and was seldom away from home after the curfew rang at 9 o'clock at night.

After his graduation from high school he worked for a year and a half in the Third National Bank of St. Louis. Concerning his connection with that institution, Mr. J. R. Cooke, cashier, writes:

"About the year 1891 Leigh Palmer, a lad of 18, entered the services of the Third National Bank of St. Louis, just after finishing his course of studies at the St. Louis High School.

"His manner, address and bearing would impress any one who came in contact with him, and the interest he took in fulfilling the duties assigned to him would mark him as a young man who would make a success in life, no matter what course he pursued.

"Leigh, being many years my junior, I never came in contact with him outside of the bank. I only knew him in a business way, but from the close association I had with him while he was connected with the bank I could only speak of him as a young man of marked refinement, a thorough gentleman, and a young man sure of success.

"He had one habit that is rarely found in a boy of his age, i. e., wearing gloves. My recollection of him is that he was never seen on the street without his hands being covered, and I understand that this trait has been carried out by him even to this date. I have been told by parties who are connected with the navy that he is called by those who are under his command 'the kid glove officer.'

"I remember well the day he came to me and told me he was going to try and enter Annapolis. I did not hesitate to encourage him, knowing that he would not only be successful in his attempt, but further, he would distinguish himself in the service of his country."

Following the Spanish-American War, Admiral Palmer had one continuous cruise of sea duty for almost thirteen years. During that time he was special Naval representative at the wedding of King Alfonso of Spain, was Naval Aid to Secretary of State Root when that statesman visited South America, and was Naval Aid to President Taft. Also during Taft's administration he held the position of Director of Target Practice in the Navy. Admiral Palmer was one of the early proponents of long range firing in the open sea under actual battle conditions. He has commanded a destroyer division of the Atlantic Fleet, served as executive officer of the battleship New York, and was Chief of Staff to the Commander of the battleship force when assigned to the important post in which he served during the late war—Chief of the Bureau of Navigation.

Upon the entrance of the United States into the war there immediately developed in the Navy Department a job for a big man. This comprised a nation-wide recruiting campaign by which the personnel of the navy was expanded from 56,000 to nearly half a million. It included the rapid and intensive training of this raw material for urgent service at sea.

The extraordinary record made in recruiting the United States Navy up to its war standard was accomplished under the immediate direction of Rear Admiral Palmer. No other officer in the navy has ever had so large a force under his command. His first task was to put the recruiting forces on an efficient basis. He divided the country into four great divisions which were pitted against one another in friendly rivalry. A great campaign of publicity was inaugurated, enlisting artists, newspapers, billboards, theaters and moving picture houses.

An especial and successful effort was made to interest parents, to whom were pointed out the advantages in education and travel offered by the navy. Committees of state and city officials were organized to aid, and patriotic societies all over the country gave their assistance. The result was that at the end of the first year of war there was an increase in the enlisted personnel of nearly 250,000 men, all of whom were volunteers.

At the outbreak of the war the naval training stations could accommodate only about 6,000 men. The Bureau of Navigation took upon itself the responsibility for going ahead with buildings at the various stations, so that barracks would be ready to house the recruits that were being brought in. In addition many schools and colleges provided training for special ratings in branches wherein these schools were best equipped to give instruction.

Concerning the accomplishments of his bureau in training men for the navy, Rear Admiral Palmer himself issued the following statement at the time the work was at its height:

"The regular naval schools have been expanded and cover a large number of trades in addition to the regular work required, including schools for drivers, electricians, radio men, carpenters, machinists, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, bakers, hospital corps men, fuel oil men, camoufleurs, helmsmen, gyro-compass men, lookouts, armed gun crews, men for submarine work, aviation mechanics, etc.

"Training was also started in the battle fleet, and, under the supervision of the Commander-in-Chief, every vessel at home and abroad is now an active unit for both officers and men, in addition to carrying out its main mission of immediate readiness for battle.

"Just before the war, or on January 1, 1917, the navy had in full commission a total of 176 vessels of all classes. Since that time the Bureau of Navigation has put into commission hundreds of vessels of all types, transports, hospital ships, patrol vessels, mine layers, mine sweepers, converted yachts, gunboats, etc., so that the end of the first year of the war finds us with 1,345 vessels fully commissioned with regular naval personnel.

"The bureau has been able, without delay, not only to furnish full complements of officers and men for all vessels that the department has wished to commission and for all other activities, including aviation and construction work at home and abroad, but it has anticipated the needs for the future and is fully prepared to provide an efficient personnel for all new vessels and for all future operations of the navy.

"Particular attention has been paid to the welfare of the recruits. Naval officers on every ship and at every station have arranged valuable courses of instruction to add to the efficiency of the men. They have carefully studied the subject of contentment and happiness on ships and in camps and have provided amusements and recreation of all kinds. Assistance and advice are given in matters which add to the health and comfort of the men and they are encouraged to seek advancement. The general aim has been to produce a patriotic and efficient body of man o' war's men, prepared and eager for decisive action with the enemy."

As Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Admiral Palmer had many other duties than those connected with recruiting and training of men. Among his varied duties were supervision of the establishing of complements of ships of the Navy; of the appointment and commissioning of officers; of the keeping of records; the issuing of orders; supervision of ceremonies; uniform regulations; pay estimates, and the like. Under his jurisdiction also were the Naval Militia and the Naval Reserves, the Naval Academy, Naval Observatory, Hydrographic Office, the Naval Examining Board, and the personnel of the Radio and Aeronautic Services.

Much is disclosed of the true character of a man by what his subordinates think of him. During 1918 the officers of the Bureau of Navigation in Washington gave a dinner to Rear Admiral Palmer. It was a delightful shipmates' gathering, without formalities. A junior officer gave imitations of the Chief talking over a telephone, and the Chief told stories of his days at sea. The officers under him gave him, as a souvenir of the occasion, a vellum bound menu, adorned and autographed, and it bore this legend:

"As a small tribute to the He-Man qualities of the Admiral."

Just before the close of the war Rear-Admiral Palmer accepted assignment as a Captain in order to be able to go to sea on active duty in the war zone. At present he is assigned to the command of the U. S. S. Georgia in Pacific waters.

On his recent visit to San Francisco, King Albert of Belgium conferred on Captain Palmer the Order of Leopold, for naval work accomplished during the war in behalf of the allied forces.

ADOLPH GREEF

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

SECOND ARTICLE

LETTER OF ADOLPH GREEF

"St. Louis, December 16, 1833.

"Dear Relatives:—

"Having finally arrived at our destination, I shall tell you about the important happenings of our journey and about our present circumstances. ———All of us except two of our children suffered from seasickness, but when we left the ship we were in better health than when we started on our journey. ———We had a great deal of diversion on the boat. There were musicians, satirical preachers, and jesters of all sorts on board, and when the sea was calm many interesting things happened on deck. ———The water of the Ohio was so low that only small boats could be used. Cousin Hermann left for Cincinnati on one of these small boats, but the rest of us decided to wait for higher water. On the 22nd of September the Meiers and we left direct for St. Louis, where we arrived on the 6th of October. ———One can scarcely imagine what a rush of Germans there is to the State of Missouri. ———In Pittsburg I bought a joiner's bench and upon our arrival here set to work to make our bedsteads, cupboards, tables, etc. I had to buy an entirely new set of tools which were very expensive. I just had to have them for the German tools were a constant source of ridicule on the part of the other workmen. ———If God wills, I shall stay in this line of work only a few years. Then I shall buy an improved farm, and as farmer I shall provide a comfortable living for us. ———Deer, rabbits, ducks, geese, in fact all sorts of game are here in great abundance. ———In spite of the fact that the men here wear no caps but only hats, a fellow traveler who happened to be a maker of hats was unable to get work. Many hats are imported from England. Saddlers, too, have difficulty in getting work. Efficient carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers and tailors do a flourishing business, as does also a baker if he chances to locate in a good neighborhood. At present most of the housewives do their own baking. My wife bakes bread every day in an iron pot which is made especially for this purpose. The bread is similar to, tho better than the white bread which the peasants bake at home. ———I can buy two hind quarters of venison, which weigh about thirty pounds, for a quarter of a dollar. Such an opportunity does not come only occasionally, but daily. I can buy four wild ducks for twenty-five cents, and a wild turkey for from twelve to twenty-five cents. Hunting and fishing are absolutely free. Several times I have been lucky enough to catch catfish weighing fifty pounds. ——— St. Louis is only in its infancy. At present it has a population of 12,000 souls, but it has no street illumination, nor regular sidewalks. Cows, swine and horses are allowed to run at large. I never go out in the evening without a lantern, in order not to fall over sleeping cows or hogs. ———The English language is the prevailing tongue, tho a number of Frenchmen live here. ———The land in the vicinity of St. Louis is being bought up rapidly. For a distance of fifty or sixty miles around the city almost everything is private property. ———Immigrants ought to choose the route via New Orleans and then come to St. Louis by steamboat. This route will, in the long run, be found the cheaper. ——— If immigrants come here with the fixed purpose of benefiting the lot of their children, if they have one of the trades I have enumerated above, and if they command a sufficient amount of money to make a successful beginning, they will be happy here. ———Ignorance of the English language is the greatest difficulty and hindrance an immigrant has to contend with. ———America is no place for immigrating scholars. The farmers and artisans represent the successfully educated classes here.

With greetings to all. Adolph."

Postscript by H. Steines.

"My dear ones:—

All of us who emigrated from Bremen are getting along well in the New World, in fact we are doing better than in Germany. But there are many Germans who pass thru a period of misery during their first year of American residence. If the English language has been thoroly mastered then America can afford more pleasures than Germany. I wish to repeat here that German immigrants who come without having at least $500.00 to $1,000.00 upon their arrival in St. Louis deserve whatever hardships may be in store for them. ———You deserve to be called rascals if, upon receipt of this letter, you do not instanter write to the free citizens of the United States of North America, Hermann Steines and Adolph Greef and family."

SECOND LETTER OF HERMANN STEINES.

"St. Louis, February 17, 1834.

"My dear Dellmann:—

"This morning I received the two letters which Fred wrote in August and September of last year.

"We are still getting along nicely, indeed better than we ever did in Germany. This fact inspires us with the hope that when once this new country shall have become a new fatherland to us, we may indeed be able to fully value and appreciate all the benefits which a loving Creator has so lavishly bestowed upon the inhabitants of this fortunate continent. Both of my former letters contain much that upon riper experience would not have come from my pen. The journey with its many unpleasant incidents, the foreign language, the strange customs, and so many other things distort one's judgment, even in spite of the firm resolve to speak without prejudice. I venture you will have the same experience. Moreover, the emigrant forgets all too easily the oppressive conditions from which he has escaped, and thinks only of the things good and beautiful which he has left behind.

These conditions are usually augmented when the emigrant's money has been spent, when misfortune befalls him, or when dreams and hopes of speculation come to naught. America is no Elysium, but it is a blessed country nevertheless. But imperfect human beings inhabit it and on this account many human institutions might be better than they now are.

"Since both you and Fred, schoolmasters that you are, entertain the hope of coming to America, let me tell you my impression of the position which science and learning in general occupies here. Of course the truly scientific man cannot be made at Universities and Technical High Schools but must be born with these gifts. In Germany many a wrong is committed under the cloak of science, but the protection which the German state gives to science and learning encourages the real genius and inspires him to pursue right paths. Here little or no protection is given the priests of learning. The laws of the land grant equal rights to all citizens. They permit every advocate of the law, every divine, every scientist to make his own clothes and carry on trade, and in like manner they permit every shoemaker or merchant to preach the gospel, practice medicine or law, to teach school, or do whatever his heart may desire. This new Republic permits no special privileges or prerogatives. Since the higher callings, here as in Germany, are more remunerative and more comfortable than many of the trades, a great number of quacks are found in all the higher professions in America.

"In theology the situation is very bad. Pietism takes the place of reasonable Christianity. Except in the Presbyterian, the Episcopal, and the Unitarian churches, the clergy is self-taught. A countless number of sects is found, that do not believe in the confirmation of the children. Repentance, conversion and faith are the common themes of their sermons. Baptism is often postponed to a mature age, while in some churches it is entirely neglected. If a person is convinced that this or that church is the genuine and true one, he appears before the church council and expresses his conviction, hears the articles of faith read and if he affirms that he is willing to accept these teachings his name is inscribed in the church record and he is called a member of such and such a church. Since the members must defray the expenses of the pastor and of the church, it behooves the pastor to convert as many as possible to his particular faith. Religious newspapers and tracts find their way to the remotest parts of the Union. The Unitarians, who look at Christianity from a rational standpoint, are by all the others condemned to eternal damnation. It is often very interesting to read their religious quarrels in the church papers. Even the atheists have their own paper. Thus you see that extremes face extremes here. Everything seems to be in a struggle. To me it all appears chaotic.

"In the medical profession conditions are equally bad. The people do not question the preparation of a physician but only enquire as to his success as a practitioner. For this reason young men aspiring to be doctors of medicine do not feel it necessary to acquire thoro training at the medical schools. The opportunity to get a sound training in medicine is available to the real student of this profession, but the quack, who is only looking for an opportunity of making money, simply hears a few lectures, in order to be able to speak at least secundam artem, and then assumes the title of doctor of medicine. Then he sallies forth either to kill or cure, just as chance or fate may decree. The American physicians compound their own medicines. The apothecary simply supplies them with the ingredients. Since the doctors are not taught in pharmaceutics, and since the desire is to make as much as possible out of the sale of medicines, they prepare but few kinds of medicine and then make use of the cheapest and strongest ingredients. Calomel, tartar emitic and a few other remedies, and a lance for the purpose of bleeding usually constitute the whole apothecary shop of an American physician. Calomel, which German physicians usually prescribe in doses of one-half to three grains, considering a dose of twenty grains as an absolute maximum, is here administered by the tea-spoon full, indeed even by the table-spoon full. It is true this does not kill the patient on the spot, but makes him much worse than he was, and leaves bad effects for life. At first I was inclined to consider statements concerning such heroic cures as unfounded, but I have had opportunity to convince myself of their truthfulness. In the matter of bleeding the physicians are extremely free. But at last the people have begun to see the absurdity and wrong of such procedure, and have raised their voice in protest. As a consequence there has arisen a class of empirics, commonly called Botanical Physicians, who banish every kind of poison from their practice, among them mercury, arsenic, saltpeter, and opium, and claim to use only vegetable medicines. Altho the work of an empiric, Thomas in Boston, is doubtless erroneous in many respects, it will undoubtedly direct the attention of the medical faculties to the flora of North America, the study of which has been almost entirely neglected.

"During the last twenty years some plants with unusual medicinal properties have been discovered in America, among them lobelia in flata, which is a vegetable emetic, asclepias tuberosa and syriaca, polygala segena and aristolochia serpentaria, eupatorium perfoliatum and many others. The flora of the United States is very rich, and in time I shall collect a fine herbarium.

"My present employer is a so-called Botanical doctor. Since Botanical studies are my specialty I feel that I am fortunate in obtaining employment with him.

"In the legal profession matters stand very much as in the other higher callings. The people choose that attorney who is the best talker, without troubling their minds much as to whether the jurist is able to read the Latin law books or not.

"The ancient languages have fallen into disfavor. The people want everything in the English language in order to be able to read and judge for themselves. Law books, pharmacopeias, and works on theology are all in English.

"In the east, it is true, one finds some few splendidly arranged apothecary shops, but most of them, and especially in the west, are chaotic in their arrangement. Medicines are stored away with a thousand other things. The most dangerous poisons are often stored away with other medicines. The one aim of everybody is to make money. It does not make any difference as to how a business is carried on, just so it is making money. Of course, I am speaking of general conditions, for, as I have already stated, there are notable exceptions. It is but natural that this state of affairs should obtain, since there is no higher authority to control the whole by salutary laws.

"The teaching profession also has many drawbacks. If the teachers are capable men, endowed with the gift to make themselves liked by their patrons, they do well, especially in the cities. However, they are employed for only short terms, for a half year or a year, and receive no fixed salary but the uncertain amount obtained from tuition fees.

"In the eastern states, especially in Pennsylvania and Ohio there are many German teachers, but they are usually obliged to give also instruction in the English language. German teachers usually fare even worse than the English, since the Germans are even more penurious in the matter of salaries than the English.

"As far as I know, German institutions of higher education do not exist in America, and probably never will come into existence, for the reason that the Germans, who are scattered thru all parts of the United States are inclined more and more to accept the customs and language of the Anglo-Americans.

"Special branches of instruction, such as music, languages and so forth might perhaps afford a better income. To undertake this sort of work, however, the instructor must be an absolute master of his work, and in the second place he must have perfect command of the English language.

"To reiterate: the doctor, lawyer, teacher or preacher who does not understand and speak the English language is just as efficient in America as a cipher before a digit. A German scholar can feel comfortable only in German environment, for this reason only those should leave German soil, who have in advance secured definite employment in this country.

"Since receiving your letter I feel certain that you will undertake the journey. I will therefore add a few words that might be helpful to you on the trip. If a number of families, which are on friendly terms, decide to travel on the same ship they may charter the steerage to mutual advantage. The fourteen families of which Fred wrote might very well travel thus. On the Bremen ships the steerage passengers have sailor's fare, which would not agree with even the humblest of you. It will therefor be wise for you to provide yourself with such articles of food as you are fond of. I think that the route via Rotterdam would be more comfortable for you. The poorest kinds of clothes must be worn by steerage passengers for one is likely to come in contact with tar at any time. A few light chairs without backs will be very convenient. Neither should a good strong lantern which can be closed be forgotten. Before going on board the ship you must assure yourself that a sufficient amount of fresh water is on hand. You may take as much baggage as you wish, but for the sake of convenience only small boxes should be taken, and these should not be packed too tight. The clothing for the journey must be put in separate boxes. On our ship all the large boxes and superfluous bedding was stored in the ship's hold, where it was put away in such a manner, that most of us had great difficulty in finding and handling our belongings. Many passengers found upon their arrival in Baltimore that part of their bedding had actually rotted. In case you should decide to bring a piano along, you must protect the strings against rust, and pack it most carefully to withstand rough handling. A small alcohol lamp and a tin kettle will be found convenient to prepare coffee or tea, as the hearth in the steerage is not at the disposal of individual travelers. You will do well to buy drafts, but you will do still better if you can exchange your money for five franc pieces. Do not accept bank notes unless they be on the Bank of the United States. Many bank notes are valid only in the state in which they were issued. Moreover, there are many imitations, which are, of course invalid. If you can bring a selected library of German classics, good theological works, sermons, entertaining and humorous works and novels, you will do well, for your mouth will often water for them here. Bring me a German medical book, one written in popular style, designed to be a family reference book in medicine. Bring me also a dozen cheap Crefeld pipes, for I cannot quit smoking and cigars are much more expensive here than in Germany. Ordinary smoking tobacco is not to be had, or at least it is very bad. Smokers are obliged to use the tobacco leaves which are dried but untreated. Since the weather ranges from extreme heat to extreme cold during the course of the year, you had better provide yourself with overcoats as well as with summer clothing, tho the latter can be bought cheaply here.

"In July and August the weather sometimes reached ninety-six to one hundred and four degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade. On the first of January the temperature suddenly dropped, and on the second the Mississippi was full of floating ice. On the seventh the cold was intense, more intense than I had ever felt in Germany, twenty degrees below zero Reaumur. The Mississippi was frozen over solid so that teams and wagons could cross it. On the twenty-third of January several of us crossed the Mississippi on foot to visit Mr. Becker in Illinoistown. He lives in a log house, and his buckskin tannery promises well. On the seventh of February the river was free of ice. Since then we have had splendid weather with occasional cold spells. On the evening of February 14 we had a violent thunderstorm.

"I wish you would bring the seeds of plums, pears and cherries with you. It would be better still if you could bring small trees instead of seeds. Our apples are of excellent quality.

"If, in spite of what I have said, you decide to come to America, Dellmann, I shall be very happy, but you must not try to teach but to go to the country and become a farmer. I am convinced that it will be best for all of us if we go to the country. The hardships of the journey and the inconveniences of the first months of American residence put one out of tune with his surroundings, and if one is not master of the

English language the Americans seem to have such repulsive characteristics, that it seems wisest to avoid direct contact with them by going to the country. In the country the immigrant has his own hearth and is independent as a farmer and can there gradually become adjusted to his new environment. On the whole the Americans are a very sociable people, especially those that live in the country, modest, friendly and polite. On the steamboats and among the teamsters you will find a class of fellows that is more repulsive than the lowest class in Europe.

"In order to get the greatest pleasure out of your residence in America, you ought, by all means, to settle in one place together and preserve your old bonds of relationship and friendship. But I entertain fears in this regard. It is a common source of ridicule that so few German emigration companies stick together and settle in the same locality, and that they are so quarrelsome.

"Daniel Knecht, Florenz and William Kochs, Matthias Wahl from Aachen, and Wirth from Remscheid have all bought land. This land is located thirty-two miles from here on the Tavern Creek.* It is on the south side of Missouri and one and one-fourth miles from that river. On the eleventh of this month I went to the Tavern Creek myself. I was accompanied by Adolph Greef and Peter Knecht. Adolph Greef has now also bought land on the Tavern Creek.

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*Captain Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition makes mention of The Tavern in his "Journal," Vol. I, p. 27. We read: "—— we passed a large cave on the Lbd side (called by the French *The Tavern*)—about 120 ft. wide, 40 ft. deep and 20 ft. high. Many different images are painted on the rock at this place. The Indians and French pay homage. Many names are written on the rock. Stopped about one mile above for Captain Lewis who had ascended the cliff which is at the said cave 300 ft. high, hanging over the water——"

The "Journals" of both Floyd and Whitehouse, members of the above expedition, mention the Tavern Cave under their entries of May 23, 1804. Floyd says that a mile beyond the cave they came to a creek called the Tavern Creek.

In Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," Vol. 6, p. 35, is found the "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri, performed 1811" by H. M. Brackenridge. There we read: "The bluffs disappear on the N. E. side and are seen on the S. W. for the first time since our leaving St. Charles. They rise about two hundred feet and are faced with rock, in masses separated by soil and vegetation. These are called the Tavern rocks; from the circumstance of a cave in one of

"On the twelfth we arrived at the Tavern Creek. The valley of this creek is wide, and is surrounded by high hills which extend along the Missouri River. On the thirteenth I saw the Missouri for the first time, and then beheld for the first time the far-famed oak forests of its great valley. The river is as broad as the Rhine there. Its banks are but sparsely settled altho the soil is extremely rich. At the mouth of the Tavern two farms have been laid out, on which a large tract has been cleared, where, as I am told, a town is to be laid out.

"All the above named men bought so called improvements.' For a definition of the term 'improvement' see Duden, p. 226, new edition, p. 250.† They all intend to

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them affording a stopping place for voyagers ascending, or on returning to their homes after a long absence. The Indians seem to have some veneration for the spot, as it is tolerably well scratched over with their rude attempts at representing birds and beasts."

The Steines brothers frequently refer to their Anglo-Saxon neighbors. In this connection a part of a footnote appended to p. 27, Vol. I of Clark's "Journal," is interesting in that we learn something of the age etc. of this settlement. We read: "The American settlement just below the place (The Tavern) was the Kentucky colony recently founded on Femme Osage river, about six miles above its mouth; among these settlers was Daniel Boone, who in 1798 had obtained a grant of land then from the Spanish authorities, whereon he remained until 1804."

†Duden tells us that an "improvement" is a tract of land which a person has settled on without obtaining, or seeking to obtain a legal title for, on which such settler, a "squatter," makes a clearing and improves the land and builds the most necessary buildings, thus obtaining the benefit accruing from the land and so forth, and hoping for financial returns from the one legally entering such land.

Mr. E. E. Steines, recalling scenes from his youth, furnished me the following interesting description of a squatter's "improvement:" "The country was an almost unbroken forest when our colonists bought land here. Here and there American 'squatters' had settled near a spring and made what was called an improvement. This 'improvement' consisted of a hut built of rough unhewn logs, the cracks 'chinked' with small blocks of wood and then 'daubed' with mud. A huge fireplace of stone, about six feet high was built on one side of the hut. Above this fireplace was the chimney, made of split oak slabs laid crosswise, and daubed on the inside with mud. The door (there was but one) was hung on homemade wooden hinges, and had no lock, nothing but a latch. The floor, when there was any, was made of 'puncheon,' that is logs that were split in two, and the split side roughly hewn with an axe. The room was just high enough for a man to stand upright in, and when the building reached that height, the builders used poles instead of logs and 'drew them in' to make the 'pitch of the roof.' A double row of clapboards was laid on these poles, and another pole laid over the clapboards and pinned down with wooden pins to the poles below to hold them on. Of course, these roofs did not shed the rain perfectly. Not a nail was used in the construction of these buildings. The other part of the 'improvement' was a 'lot' which was a enter regularly at the land office the various tracts of forty acres for which they have made settlement with the 'squatters.' Adolph Greef's forty is all situated in the valley where the soil is from six to seven feet thick. On two sides his land is surrounded by high stony hills and on the other two sides other farms adjoin his. Adolph will pay the owner of his 'improvement' $20.00. A dwelling house consisting of one room, a smoke house, a corn crib, and an enclosure about the well, all made of logs, seven acres of cleared land, which has been tilled for seven years, constitute the entire 'improvement.' The fencing in of the land will cost Adolph about $15.00, so that the entire price of the land will amount to something like $85.00. Since Adolph does not intend to live there at present, he has agreed to let Peter Knecht who is in straightened circumstances live on his farm. Knecht will buy his own live stock and implements.

"A good horse is worth about $30.00, a brood sow with five to ten pigs from $1.50 to $3.00, a fresh cow with her calf $10.00, chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys, etc., cost a few dollars per pair. It is therefore seen that one is able to settle effectively for $150.00, but the comforts of a dwelling house are still lacking.

"The German immigrants are heartily welcomed in the country, and the American neighbors are always willing to lend a helping hand where they see that help and advice is needed.

"While in the Tavern Creek Valley we spent the night with a farmer. He lives in a log house, but his beds and meals were very good. I like the Tavern Creek country very much.

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small area enclosed with fence-rails, into which the oxen, cows and hogs were put when wanted, and where they stood without any shelter, even in winter. Then there was a 'clearing' which was a small piece of land, from two to five acres extent, made by deadening the timber by cutting around the trees through the 'sap-wood,' and then cutting off the hazel and other small underbrush and burning it on the ground. No grubbing was done. Here the squatters raised some corn, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes and turnips. They lived mainly by hunting and fishing. Their wants were few, and easily supplied. Money was very scarce with them, and wherever a 'green Dutchman' came into the country, they were glad to sell their 'claims' for from ten to fifteen dollars, according to the size of the "improvement." Then they moved on farther west and made another 'improvement' in a few weeks."

In many respects it reminded me of the Ruhr river country. The land is thickly wooded in the valley or bottoms. On the hills the forest does not compare favorably with the wooded highlands of Germany. The soil on the hills that I visited was yellow but in places was covered by a thin layer of humus earth. Along the creeks great layers of lime stone are exposed.

"It is asserted by some that the state of Illinois offers greater advantages to the settler than Missouri does. But it is generally admitted that Missouri is more healthful. Many Germans are going to the state of Ohio, and I must admit that the valley of the Miami, thru which I passed on the canal, seemed very attractive to me. But there the well located land is already very dear. In the vicinity of Cincinnati and Pittsburg land is valued at from $15.00 to $20.00 an acre, even tho there are no improvements on the land.

"I am delighted to hear that you were so fortunate in the sale of your real estate. So if you are ready, and your resolution to face the hardship that is in store for you is firmly fixed, then do not hesitate any longer. I shall look for you in May, and hope I shall find you cheerful and in good health.

"You must not think that America is a country that abounds in scenic beauty. If you want that you must stay in Germany or go to Italy. But if you come you will find a *good* country. Here the farmer who has established himself lives in an almost unbounded wilderness, happy and contented like Adam in the Garden of Eden. Our skies are almost always cloudless and therefore cheering. Art, of course, is wanting, but nature supplies a thousand beauties.

"The von Spankeren brothers, on the north side of the Missouri, are tired of country life. They wish to sell their farm and then go to Mexico. F. Krekel lives some fifteen miles farther west than the von Spankeren. He bought an improvement from the government, but drove the squatter who had made the improvement from the land without paying him for his work. For this reason Krekel is hated by his neighbors.

"In Krekel's neighborhood a man was caught stealing some corn from one of his neighbors. He was brought before the justice. After the hearing it was decided that the thief should be given twenty-five blows with a rawhide. After this punishment the man disappeared from the neighborhood.

"If Professor Dellmann comes with you he must go to the country with us, and must not try to teach till he has mastered the English language. There will be inconveniences for all of us to face, but if you wish to see our whole family living in the same country, a country where freedom of speech obtains, where no spies are eavesdropping, where no wretched simpletons criticise your every word and seek to detect therein a venom that might endanger the life of the state, the church, and the home, in short, if you wish to be really happy and independent then come here and become farmers in the United States. Here you will find a class of beings that think sensibly, and that still respect the man in man. Oppressive military systems and exorbitant taxation are foreign to this country. Nature has blessed this land abundantly. Here one fully enjoys what one earns, here no despots are to be feared, here the law is respected, and honest citizens do not tolerate the least infringement or interference by human authority.

"In regard to your proposed scheme of bringing a stock of goods here for the purpose of selling them, I must say that I very much disapprove of such an undertaking. The merchant here must be prepared to accept the products of the farm, such as tobacco, corn, cotton, etc., in the place of money, in payment for his goods. To make this sort of barter pay, it is necessary to have experience. To enter into speculation without knowing local conditions would mean to invite failure. It is much better to bring money than wares. Solingen manufactures cannot compete with the cheap English hardware used here. Then, too, the stores in the west carry only a small stock of goods. At this very time Peter Knecht is vainly trying to sell a dozen or more of scissors, tho he is offering them at a greatly reduced price.

"You good people, who lay so much value on my writing, remember that I am no divine oracle but only a human being, and therefore subject to error. Read my letters and compare them with other writings, take council with your five senses, abstain from prejudices and judge sensibly.

"*You want to know something of the condition of freemasonry in these United States. All what I am able to tell you of it is, that some people like it and some people do not. There are a great many freemasons in this country, and my very employer is one of them. Many books are published against them and against secret societies in general, and the American people is generally not much in friendship with mysteries.

"With many greetings, etc.

Hermann Steines."

"P. S.

"A short time ago a German Evangelical congregation was formed in St. Louis. Its membership is still very small, due largely to the fact that for most of the immigrants this city is only a temporary stopping place. The primary purpose of founding the church was, of course, to have services in the German language. Its organization was hastened, however, by the arrival of a young theologian who came to America with a company of his countrymen from Hessen-Darmstadt. This rather large company of Germans had planned to settle on the Missouri, and he was to serve as their pastor and teacher. Before arriving on American soil, however, they disagreed, and upon their arrival scattered in many directions. The above mentioned clergyman was helpless, without position, without means, and his wife enceinte. At first he sold what of their personal belongings that they could spare, and then he worked at common labor. The Germans of St. Louis circulated a petition in his behalf and have thus obtained

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*This paragraph is written in English in the original document. It is here given verbatim as it appears there.

Steines' statement in regard to freemasonry is interesting because it shows that his friends in Germany were wide awake to an issue which rose to the importance of national significance. I refer to the Anti Masonic movement in 1832. The followers of Duden were keenly awake to every movement of importance in the United States. Many of them were college men.

a sum of money sufficient to give the necessary relief for at least a year. The pastor's name is Korndoerfer.

"While walking in the country last week we met an oxdriver who was on horseback. When he saw us on foot, he cried out in a disdainful voice: 'You are always walking, you Dutch!' 'Dutchman' is the common term applied to a German.

"Bring a sufficient number of musical instruments along for our edification. Also bring German song-books, musical compositions, Dinter's Bible for school teachers, philosophical writings, etc., etc. Bring me an anatomy text written in popular style, and dictionaries of Pathology and Therapeutics. A work on veterinary science would be very valuable here.

"*Mr. Conrector Koening will excuse me for not having kept my promise with regard to the English language. As far as I am acquainted with it, I don't believe, that there is any difference in the pronounciation of an American or Englishman, who speak their language well. The vulgar pronounciation differs somewhat, and also differently in different countries, but not so much, as it is really the case with the German language. However, Honoured Sir, accept previously the thanks of a grateful scholar, who by Your goodness became able, to be useful to himself and to others. I had some difficulty, when I first came in this country, but now I get pretty well ready. (The word 'pretty' is generally pronounced 'puddy'.) I beseech you, H. Sir, to salute all my former fellow-scholars from their most humble brother Hermann Steines. Your pronunciation, Sir, is according to my experience most correct. Walker is the standard of pronunciation in this country too. Salute your wife and children and be yourself saluted by your most humble and obedient American citizen H. Steines."

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*This paragraph found in the English in the original is here given verbatim.

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

On November 30th the prisoners were started from Richmond for Liberty, as ordered in the following mittemus:

"State of Missouri, Ray County.
To the Keeper of the Jail of Clay County, Greeting:

Whereas, Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin, as also Sidney Rigdon have been brought before me, Austin A. King, judge of the fifth judicial circuit in the State of Missouri, and charged with the offense of treason against the State of Missouri, and the said defendants, on their examination before me, being held to answer further to said charge, the said Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae and Caleb Baldwin to answer in the County of Daviess, and the said Sydney Rigdon to answer further in the county of Caldwell, for said charge of treason, and there being no jail in said counties: These are therefore to command that you receive the said Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, Caleb Baldwin, and Sidney Rigdon into your custody in the jail of the said county of Clay, there to remain until they be delivered therefrom by due course of law.

Given under my hand and seal the 29th day of November, 1838,

Austin A. King.

State of Missouri, County of Clay,

I, Samuel Hadley, Sheriff of Clay County, do hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the mittimus to me, directed in the cases therein named.

Samuel Hadley, Jailer,
By, Samuel Tillery, Deputy Jailer,
Clay County, Missouri." (*Millenial Star*, vol. 16, p. 566.)

LYMAN WIGHT'S JOURNAL.

Lyman Wight's account as recorded in his journal is as follows:

"November 1st. This morning we were ordered by General Wilson to make ready to go to Jackson County, and informed by him that we were delivered into his charge, that he had three hundred good soldiers, and that he would guarantee that we should be well treated; which promise he fulfilled to the very letter. We were then placed in a wagon, marched seventeen miles to Crooked River, and camped for the night.

"2nd. Today we marched on and crossed the Missouri River at William's Ferry and camped on the other side for the night.

"3rd. We now found ourselves in Jackson County, from which we were driven in 1833, about thirteen miles from Independence. Several times in the course of the day we were exhibited as a public show, having been carried in a covered wagon. But I have it to say that with one exception we were treated in the most genteel manner. We landed at Independence about three o'clock P. M. and were placed in a huge log house on the north side of the public square, with a small guard about us. We had many respectable visitors this evening, together with some few of the offscouring of the earth. We had food prepared for and brought to us. We rested very comfortably through the night.

"4th. This day we were at liberty to go where we pleased about through the town. We walked down to the Temple Lot, in company with a gentleman by the name of Collins. He said he presumed the place did not look as it would had we been permitted to have remained in this County. We spent (the day) in walking about, retired in the evening to the same place and tarried for night.

"5th. This day we were invited to dine with General Wilson, by the request of his wife and family, where we were treated in the most genteel style. When the blessing was asked at the table, his wife shed tears freely. We retired after dinner to our place of residence for the night.

"November 6th. This morning General Wilson ordered us to be moved to Knowlton's Hotel, where we were treated in a genteel manner. We spent the day walking about through town, and traded some and returned to Knowlton's for the night.

7th. On this day we were invited to dine at a hotel in the lower part of the town. We returned to Knowlton's in the evening, and were introduced to Colonel Price, who gave us to understand that he had been sent by General Clark, who had just arrived in

Richmond with five thousand troops, and who, by the order of the Governor, was Commander in Chief of all the mob militia in the State, ordered us forthwith to Richmond for a new trial, as he claims the highest authority of martial law on the occasion. He also informed us that General Clark had with him an express order from the Governor, to either exterminate or drive from the State every Mormon within its borders. We now returned to rest and to wait the result of another day.

8th. This morning we made every necessary preparation to repair to Richmond as quick as possible. Colonel Arnat and two other men attended us as guards. We started and crossed the Missouri River fifteen miles from this place about the setting of the sun, and camped in an old house on the opposite bank.

"9th. This morning, about ten miles from Richmond, we were met by about fifty men, who guarded us into Richmond, where we were thrust into an old log house. Some little provisions were brought in, which we took in our hands and ate. We were strongly guarded through the night. This evening we were informed that General Clark had been to Far West and had disarmed every Mormon that he could find, and had taken about sixty prisoners and brought them to this place, and placed them in the court house about twenty rods from where we now are, which has neither floor nor door-shutter, and the weather is very inclement. The remainder of the Mormons he said could remain until the opening of the spring season; but if they should then be found attempting to put in a crop or stay longer, they should most assuredly be exterminated without mercy.

"General Clark came in between the hours of seven and eight o'clock this evening, who, on being interrogated, what our crimes were, said he would inform us in the morning, and with a frown passed out of the room. After receiving many insults and much abuse from the people, we were left to await the result of the morning.

"10th. This morning General Clark came and with a look of awe and disdain said: Gentlemen, you are charged with having committed treason, murder, arson, burglary, larceny, and stealing, and various other crimes, too numerous to mention, and in great haste left the room. He had not more than passed the door when Colonel Price with sixteen men stepped in at the door, each having his gun presented with his thumb on the cock. They were quickly followed by a Mr. Fulkerson, the overseer of the penitentiary, with three trace chains and seven padlocks in his hands, and commenced chaining us by our legs, one by one, until we were all chained together about two feet apart. We were then informed that we were delivered over to the civil law, and that General Clark, after arriving at this place, had held a court martial and sentenced us to be shot, but fearing this might not be correct he had sent to Fort Leavenworth to the United States officer, whose answer, on the subject was that it would be nothing more nor nothing less than cold-blooded murder (Colonel Richard B. Mason, First Dragoon, made this reply).

"During this whole time there had not been a process served on us, neither civil or uncivil. We spent this day in chains for the first time, ruminating from present prospects to what the future might be. You may well calculate the day passed off with gloomy aspect.

"11th. A. King, Circuit Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, called for us at the court house (at Richmond) today, and informed us that we were put on trial for the above mentioned charges, stated by General Clark. (This was of course merely a preliminary hearing.) Court was called and adjourned for want of testimony. We retired to our chains and couches of straw and spent the night.

"November 12th. Court opened this morning and Samson Avard was sworn. He was a man whose character was perfectly run down in all classes of society, and he being a stranger palmed himself upon the Mormon Church, and in order to raise himself in the estimation of the church invented schemes and plans to go against mobocracy, which were perfectly derogatory to the laws of this State and of the United States, and frequently endeavored to enforce them upon members of the church, and when repulsed by Joseph Smith he would frequently become chagrined. At one time he told me that the reason why he could not carry his plans into effect was that the First Presidency of the Church feared that he would have too much influence, and gain the honor which the First Presidency desired for themselves. At one time he said to me that he would be damned if he did not carry his plans through. More than once did he raise a conspiracy against them (the Presidency) in order to take their lives, thinking that he might then rule the church. Now when he was brought before the court he swore, that all these treasonable purposes (which he had sworn in his heart to perform) originated with us."

P. P. PRATT'S ACCOUNT.

P. P. Pratt writes concerning their treatment at Independence:

"We were soon at liberty to walk the streets without a guard; and soon we were removed from our house of confinement to a hotel, where we were entertained in the best style of which the place was capable, which was lodging on the floor and a block of wood for a pillow. We had no longer any guard—we went out and came in when we pleased. A certain keeper being appointed merely to look to us; with him we walked out of town and visited the desolate lands which belonged to our society, and the place which seven years before, we had dedicated and consecrated for the building of a temple, it being a beautiful rise of ground about half a mile west of Independence. When we saw it last it was a wilderness, but now our enemies had robbed it of every stick of timber and it presented a beautiful rolling field of pasture being covered with grass.

"Oh, how many feelings did this spot awaken in our bosoms! Here we had often bowed the knee in prayer to Jehovah in bygone years; and here we had assembled with hundreds of happy saints, in the solemn meeting, and offered our prayers, and songs, and sacraments, in our humble dwellings; but now all was solemn and lonely desolation; not a vestige remained to mark the place where stood our former dwellings; they had long since been consumed by fire, or removed to the village and converted to the use of our enemies. While at Independence we were once or twice invited to dine with General Wilson, and others, which we did with much apparent politeness and attention on their part, and much cheerfulness on our own.

"After about a week spent in this way, during which I was at one time alone in the wilderness more than a mile from town, we were at length (after repeated demands) sent to General Clark, at Richmond. This place was on the same side of Missouri that Far West was, and about thirty miles distant.

"Generals Lucas and Wilson had tried in vain to get a guard to accompany us; none would volunteer, and when drafted they would not obey orders; for in truth, they wished us to go at liberty.

"At last a Colonel and two or three officers started with us, with their swords and pistols, which was more to protect us than to keep us from escaping. On this journey some of us rode in carriages and some on horseback. Sometimes we were sixty or eighty rods in front or rear of our guard, who, by the by, were three sheets in the wind in the whiskey line, having a bottle in their pockets; but knowing we were not guilty of any crime we did not wish to escape by flight. At night having crossed the ferry, we put up at a private house. Here our guards all went to bed and to sleep, leaving us their pistols to defend ourselves in case of any attack from without, as we were in a very hostile neighborhood." (*Persecutions of the Saints*, pp. 92-95.)

One touching incident we relate here as given by Mr. Pratt, as occurring at the preliminary at Richmond:

"The Court of inquiry now commenced before Judge A. A.

King. This continued from the 11th to the 28th of November, during which we were kept most of the time in chains, and our brethren, some fifty in number, were penned up in the open, unfinished court house.

"It was a very severe spell of snow and winter weather, and we suffered much. During this time Elder Rigdon was taken very sick from hardship and exposure, and finally lost his reason; but still he was kept in a miserable, noisy, and cold room, and compelled to sleep on the floor with a chain and padlock round his ankle, and fastened to six others; and here he endured the constant noise and confusion of an unruly guard who were changed every few hours, and who were frequently composed of the most noisy, foul-mouthed, vulgar, disgraceful, indecent rabble that ever defiled the earth. While we lay in this situation, his son-in-law, George Robinson, the only male member of his numerous family, was chained by his side; and thus Mrs. Rigdon and her daughters were left entirely destitute and unprotected. One of his daughters, Mrs. Robinson, a young and delicate female, with her little infant, came down to see her husband and to comfort and take care of her father in his sickness. When she first entered the room, amid the clank of chains and the bristle of weapons, and cast her eyes on her sick and dejected parent and sorrow-worn husband, she was speechless, and only gave vent to her feelings in a flood of tears. This faithful lady with her little infant continued by the bed of her father till he recovered from his sickness and till his fevered and disordered mind assumed its wonted powers of intellect.

"In this mock court of inquiry the judge could not be prevailed on to examine the conduct of the murderers, robbers, and plunderers, who had desolated our society. Nor would he receive testimony except against us. And by the dissenters and apostates who wished to save their own lives and secure their property at the expense of others; and by those who had murdered and plundered us from time to time, he obtained abundance of testimony, much of which was entirely false." (*Persecution of the Saints*, pp. 102-104.)

FOUR OF THE MORMON LEADERS SENT AS PRISONERS TO BOONE COUNTY.

Of the prisoners left at Richmond when Joseph and his companions were taken to Liberty, all were finally released but four, and they were sent to Columbia, in Boone County. Of this, Mr. Pratt writes as follows:

"On the 24th day of April our cases were laid before the grand jury of the County of Ray; and Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer were dismissed after being imprisoned near six months. This release happened just as Mr. Shearer came to visit his son for the last time before he left the country. He came into the prison to see us, and not knowing of the intended release, he took an affectionate leave of us and of his son, who seemed to weep with heartbroken anguish. But while he yet lingered in town, his son was called before the court, and with Mr. Chase was told that they might go at liberty. The father and son then embraced each other almost overcome with joy, and departed. At the same time, my brother Orson Pratt, whom I had not before seen for a year, came from Illinois to see me, but was only permitted to visit me for a few moments, and then was ordered to depart. Mrs. Phelps, who had waited in prison for some days in hopes that the court would release her husband, now parted without him, overwhelmed with sorrow and tears, and with her infant moved slowly away to remove to Illinois and leave her husband behind. Thus our families wander in a strange land, without our protection, being robbed of house and home. Oh, God, who can endure the thought! Come out in justice, O, Lord, and restore us to our mourning families!

"Our number in prison were reduced to four, one having been added about the middle of April. His name was King Follet; he was dragged from his distressed family just as they were leaving the state. Thus of all the prisoners which were taken at an expense of two hundred thousand dollars, only two of the original ones, who belonged to the church, now remained. Mr. Gibbs, having denied the faith, to try to save his life. These were Morris Phelps and myself. All who were let to bail were banished from the State, together with those who bailed them. Thus none are like to have a trial by law except ourselves, and we are without friends or witnesses in the State. After the grand jury had found a bill against us for defending ourselves in the battle with Bogart's Company, we were kept in prison at Richmond for about a month. We then took a change of venue and were ordered to be sent to Columbia, Boone County, for trial.

"On the 22nd day of May we were handcuffed together, two and two with irons round the wrist of each and in this fix we were taken from prison and placed in a carriage.

"The people of Richmond gathered around to see us depart; but none seemed to feel for us except two persons. One of these (General Park's lady) bowed to us through the window, and looked as if touched with pity.

"The other was a Mr. Huggins, merchant of Richmond, who bowed with some feeling as we passed. We now took leave of

Richmond, accompanied by Sheriff Brown, and four guards with drawn pistols, and moved on towards Columbia. No tongue can describe our sensations as we came forth from a most filthy dungeon, where we had been confined for near seven months, and began to breathe the free air, and to change the scenery and look abroad upon the face of the earth. There was a sweetness in the air and a perfume from the earth which none could fully realize except such as have been for a long time confined in tainted air. It had been thundering and raining for some days and the thunderstorm lasted with but short cessations from the time we started till we arrived at the place of destination, which was five days.

"The small streams were swollen so as to be very difficult crossing them. On the second day we came to a creek which was several rods over, with a strong current, and very deep. It was towards evening and far from any house, and we had received no refreshment through the day. Here we halted, and knew not what to do. We waited awhile for the water to fall but it fell slowly. All hands were hungry and impatient, and a lowery night seemed to threaten that the creek would rise before morning by the falling of additional rains. In this dilemma some counseled one thing and some another. Some said, go back some miles to a house and tarry till morning. Others said, camp here for the night. Others said, swim the river and leave the carriage and baggage till morning; and some advised to attempt to drive some miles around the head of the stream. At last I proposed to the Sheriff that if he would take off my irons I would go into the water to bathe and by that means ascertain the depth and bottom; this he consented to do, after some hesitation. I then plunged into the stream and swam across, and attempted to wade back; I found it to be a hard bottom, and the water about up to my chin; but a very stiff current. After this, Mr. Brown, the sheriff, undertook to cross on his horse; but just as his horse neared the opposite shore he sprang sidewise to gain a bank, and Mr. Brown was thrown off his horse and buried in the stream. He could not swim, but sprang out, hollowing and flouncing in a manner that caused much merriment to the company. This accident decided the fate of the day. Being now completely wet, he resolved to effect the crossing of the whole company, bag and baggage. Accordingly, several stripped off their clothes and mounted on the barebacks of the horses; and, taking their clothing, saddles, and arms, together with our trunk and bedding upon their shoulders, they bore them across in safety, without wetting.

"This was done by riding backwards and forwards across the stream several times. In this sport and labor, prisoners, guards, and all mingled in mutual exertion. All was now safe but the carriage. Mr. Phelps then proposed to swim that across by hitching two horses before it; and he mounted on one of their backs, while myself and one of the guards swam by the side of the carriage to keep it from upsetting by the force of the current. And thus, Paul like, we all got safe to land. Everything was soon replaced and ourselves in the carriage, and the suite on horseback, we moved swiftly on, and at dark arrived at a house of entertainment, amid a terrible thunderstorm. Next morning we proceeded on and in a few miles came to another swimming stream; but after some consultation it was thought best to go around the head of the stream. We accordingly took our back track for a half mile, and then striking to the north in the open prairie, without any track, we rode some seven miles around, crossed the head of the stream, and returned to the road which we had left; this day we crossed the Missouri at a place called Arrow Rock, being named from the circumstance of the natives coming there from all quarters to get a kind of hard rock from the bluff to make arrow points. In this journey we had slept each night on our backs on the floor, being all four of us bound together, with hand and ankle irons made for the purpose.

"This being done, the windows and doors were all fastened, and then five guards with their loaded pistols *staid* in the room, and one at a time sat up and watched during the night. This cruelty was inflicted on us more to gratify a wicked disposition than anything else; for it was in vain for us to have tried to escape, without any irons being put on us; and had we wished to escape, we had a tolerable good opportunity at the creek.

"When we arrived within four miles of Columbia, the bridge had been destroyed from over a large and rapid river; and here we were some hours in crossing over in a tottlish canoe, having to leave our carriage together with our bedding, clothing, our trunk of clothing, books, papers, etc., but all came to us in safety after two days.

"After we had crossed the river, our guards having swam their horses, mounted them, and we proceeded toward Columbia, the prisoners walking on foot, two being fastened together two and two by the wrists.

"After walking two or three miles, Mr. Brown hired a carriage, and we rode into Columbia. It was about sunset on Sunday evening, and as the carriage and our armed attendants drove through the streets we were gazed upon with astonishment by hundreds of spectators, who thronged the streets and looked out at the windows, doors, etc., anxious to get a glimpse of the strange beings called Mormons. On our arrival we were immediately hurried to the prison without going to a tavern for refreshment, although we had traveled a long distance without anything to eat.

When unloosened from our fetters we were ushered immediately from the carriage into the jail, and the next moment a huge trap door was opened, and down we went into a most dismal dungeon, which was full of cobwebs and filth above, below, and all around the walls, having stood empty for near two years. Here was neither beds, nor chairs, nor water, nor food, nor friends, nor anyone whom we might call, even for a drink of cold water; for Brown and all others had withdrawn to go where they could refresh themselves. When thrust into this dungeon, we were nearly ready to faint with hunger, and thirst, and weariness. We walked the room for a few moments, and then sank down upon the floor in despondency, and wished to die, for, like Elijah of old, if the Lord had inquired, 'What dost thou here?' we could have replied, 'Lord, they have killed the prophets, and thrown down thine altars, and have driven out all thy saints from the land, and we only are left to tell thee; and they seek our lives, to take them away; and now, therefore, let us die.'

"Our feelings were the more melancholy because here we had hoped to see our families from Illinois or some kind friend from thence, as we had not heard from them for some time and were now within one hundred miles of them: but we neither saw nor heard of any one who knew us or cared for us. We now sent to the post office, but got no letters. Our families and friends, it seemed, had even neglected to write us—this seemed the more unaccountable, as they had long expected us at Columbia. When we had been in the dungeon for some time, our new jailer handed down some provisions, but by this time I was too faint to eat; I tasted a few mouthfuls, and then suddenly the trap door opened, and some chairs were handed to us, and the new sheriff, Mr. Martin, and his deputy, Mr. Hamilton, entered our dungeon and talked so kindly to us that our spirits again revived in some measure. This night we slept cold and uncomfortable; having but little bedding. Next morning, we were suffered to come out of the dungeon, and the liberty of the upper room was given us through the day ever afterwards." (*Persecution of the Saints*, pp. 114-124.)

ESCAPE OF THE MORMONS FROM THE BOONE COUNTY JAIL.

P. P. Pratt and Morris Phelps escaped from the Boone County jail on July 4, 1839, and finally made their way to their families in Illinois. Mr. Follet broke jail with them, but was recaptured. Mr. Luman Gibbs, the other one of the four, apostatized, and was acquitted on trial. Mr. Follet was retained several months and dismissed.

The following is Mr. Pratt's account of their thrilling escape:

"The author of the foregoing narrative is now at liberty and some account of his narrow escape from prison and from the State of Missouri is due to the public. On the 1st of July the special term of the court was held at Columbia for our trials but was adjourned for nearly three months because all our witnesses were banished from the state. Under these circumstances we were unwilling to be tried in a state where all law and justice were at an end. We accordingly thought it justifiable to make our escape. In the meantime we were visited by Mrs. Phelps, the wife of one of the prisoners, and also by my brother, Orson Pratt, and Mrs. Phelps' brother.

"These all came from Illinois or Iowa on horseback, and visited with us for several days. On the 4th of July we felt desirous as usual to celebrate an anniversary of American liberty. We accordingly manufactured a white flag consisting of the half of a shirt, on which we inscribed the word 'Liberty' in large letters, and also a large American eagle was put on in red. We then obtained a pole from our jailer, and on the morning of the 4th this flag was suspended from the front window of our prison, overhanging the public square, and floating triumphantly in the air to the full view of the citizens who assembled by hundreds to celebrate the National jubilee. With this the citizens seemed highly pleased, and sent a portion of the public dinner to us and our friends, who partook with us in prison with merry hearts, as we intended to gain our liberties or be in paradise before the close of that eventful day. While we were thus employed in prison, the town was alive with troops parading, guns firing, and shouts of joy, resounding on every side. In the meantime we wrote the following toast, which was read at their public dinner, with many and long cheers:

> 'The patriotic and hospitable citizens of Boone County; opposed to tyranny and oppression, and firm to the original principles of republican liberty—may they in common with every part of our wide-spreading country, long enjoy the blessings which flow from the fountain of American Independence.'

"Our dinner being ended, our two brethren took leave of us and started for Illinois (leaving Mrs. Phelps to still visit with her husband). They had proceeded a mile or two on the road and then took into the woods, and finally placed their three horses in a thicket within one-third of a mile of the prison, and there they waited in anxious suspense till sundown. In the meantime we put on our coats and hats and waited for the setting sun, with prayer and supplication for deliverance from this long and tedious bondage; and for a restoration to the society of our friends and families, we then sang the following lines:

'Lord cause their foolish plans to fail,
And let them faint or die,
Our souls would quit this loathsome jail,
And fly to Illinois,

'To join with the embodied saints,
Who are with freedom blessed,
That only bliss for which we pant,
With them awhile to rest.

'Give joy for grief—give ease for pain,
Take all our foes away,
But let us find our friends again,
In this eventful day.'

"This ended the celebration of our National liberty, but the gaining of our own was the grand achievement now before us.

"In the meantime the sun was setting. The moment arrived, the footsteps of the jailer were heard on the stairs. Every man flew to his feet, and stood near the door. The great door was opened, and our supper handed in through a small hole in the inner door, which still remained locked; but at length the key was turned in order to hand in the pot of coffee. No sooner was the key turned than the door was jerked open, and in a moment all three of us were out and rushing down the stairs. The foremost, Mr. Phelps, was clinched by the jailer; both tumbled down the stairs, through the entry and out into the dooryard, when Phelps cleared himself without injuring the jailer, and all of us leaped several fences, ran through the fields towards the thicket, where we expected to find our friends and horses. In the meantime the town was alarmed and many were seen rushing after us, some on horseback and some on foot, prepared with dogs, guns, and whatever came to hand. But the flag of liberty with its eagle still floated on high in the distance and under its banner our nerves seemed to strengthen at every step. We gained the horses, mounted, and dashed into the wilderness, each his own way. After a few jumps of my horse I was hailed by an armed man at pistol shot distance, crying, 'D——n you, stop, or I'll shoot you.'

"I rushed onward deeper in the forest, while the cry was repeated in close pursuit, crying, 'D——n you, stop, or I'll shoot you,' at every step, till at length it died away in the distance.

"I plunged a mile into the forest, came to a halt, tied my horse in a thicket, went a distance and climbed a tree to await the approaching darkness. Being so little used to exercise, I fainted through over-exertion, and remained so faint for nearly an hour that I could not get down from the tree. But, calling on the Lord, he strengthened me, and I came down from the tree. But, my horse had got loose and gone. I then made my way on foot for several days and nights, principally without food, and scarcely suffering myself to be seen. After five days of dreadful suffering with fatigue and hunger, I crossed the Mississippi and found myself once more in a land of freedom. Hundreds of my friends crowded around me, and many of the citizens of Illinois, although strangers to me, received and welcomed me as one who had escaped from a persecution almost unparalelled in modern history.

"I was everywhere invited to preach the Gospel and gave many public addresses, but no attempt has been made to retake myself and fellow prisoners." (*Persecution of the Saints*, pp. 164-169.)

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO, AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

BY JOHN N. EDWARDS.

SECOND ARTICLE (Reprint).

CHAPTER V.

From San Antonio to Eagle Pass was a long march made dreary by mesquite and chapparal. In the latter war laggards abounded, sleeping by day and devouring by night. These hung upon the flanks and upon the rear of the column, relying more upon force than stratagem—more upon surprises for capture, than sabre work or pistol practice. Returning late one night from extra duty, D. A. Williams with ten men, met a certain Captain Bradford with thirty-two. Williams had seven mules that Bradford wanted, and to get them it was necessary to take them. This he tried from an ambush, carefully sought and cunningly planned—an ambush all the more deadly because the superb soldier Williams was riding campward under the moon, thinking more of women than of war.

In front, and back from the road upon the right, was a clump of mesquite too thick almost for a centipede to crawl through. When there was water, a stream bounded one edge of this undergrowth; when there was no water, the bed of this stream was a great ditch. When the ambushment was bad, instead of water there was sand. On guard, however, more from the force of habit than from the sense of danger, Williams had sent a young soldier forward to reconnoitre, and to stay forward, watching well upon the right hand and upon the left. George R. Cruzen was his name, and braver and better never awoke to the sound of the *reveille*. Cruzen had passed the mesquite, passed beyond the line of its shadows, passed out into the glare of a full harvest moon, when a stallion neighed fiercely to the right of him. He halted by instinct, and drew himself together, listening. Thanks to the sand, his horse's feet had made no noise; thanks to the stallion, he had stopped before the open jaws of the defile had closed upon their prey. He rode slowly back into the chapparal, dismounted, tied his horse, and advanced on foot to the brink of the ravine just where it skirted the edge of the brush. As he held his breath he counted thirty stalwart men crouching in the moonlight. Two he did not see. These were on guard where the road crossed the dry bed of the creek. Cruzen's duty was plain before him. Regaining his horse speedily, he galloped back to where Williams had halted for a bit of rest. "Short greeting serves in time of strife," and Cruzen stated the case so plainly that Williams could almost see the men as they waited there for his little band. He bade his soldiers dismount, take a pistol in each hand, and follow him. Before doing this the horses and the led mules were securely fastened.

Stealing round the point of the chapparal noiselessly as the flight of birds through the air, he came upon the left flank of the marauders, upon that flank which had been left unprotected and unguarded. He was within five paces of them before he was discovered. They fired a point blank volley full in his face, but his detachment fell forward and escaped untouched. As they arose they charged. The *melee* was close and suffocating. Three of William's soldiers died in the ravine, two scrambled out wounded to the death, one carries yet a bullet in his body. But he triumphed. Never was there a fight so small, so rapid and so desperate. Cruzen killed three, Cam. Boucher three, Williams four, Ras. Woods five with one pistol, a heavy English dragoon, and other soldiers of the ten two apiece. Out of the thirty-two, twenty-seven lay dead in a space three blankets might have covered. Shelby heard the firing, and sent swift succor back, but the terrible work was done. Williams rarely left a fight half-finished. His deeds that night were the talk of the camp for many long marches thereafter.

The next day at noon, while halting for dinner, two scouts from the rear—James Kirtley and James Rudd—galloped in with the news that a Federal force, three thousand strong, with a six gun battery, was marching to overtake the column.

"Who commands?" asked Shelby.

"Col. Johnson," replied Rudd.

"How far in the rear did you see him?"

"About seventeen miles."

"Mount your horse again, Rudd, you and Kirtley, and await further orders."

Shelby then called one who had been his ordnance master, Maj. Jos. Moreland. Moreland came, polite, versatile, clothed all in red and gold lace. Fit for any errand, keen for any frolic, fond of any adventure so only there were wine and shooting in it, Moreland reported:

"I believe," said Shelby, "you can turn the prettiest period, make the grandest bow, pay the handsomest compliment, and drink the pleasantest toast of any man in my command. Take these two soldiers with you, ride to the rear seventeen miles, seek an interview with Colonel Johnson, and give him this."

It was a note which he handed him—a note which read as follows:

"Colonel: My scouts inform me that you have about three thousand men, and that you are looking for me. I have only one thousand men, and yet I should like to make your acquaintance. I will probably march from my present camp about ten miles further today, halting on the high road between San Antonio and Eagle Pass. Should you desire to pay me a visit, you will find me at home until day after tomorrow."

Moreland took the message and bore it speedily to its destination. Amid many profound bows, and a multitude of graceful and complimentary words, he delivered it. Johnson was a gentleman, and dismissed the embassy with many promises to be present. He did not come. That night he went into camp five miles to the rear, and rested there all the next day. True to his word, Shelby waited for him patiently, and made every preparation for a stubborn fight. Once afterward Col. Johnson came near enough to indicate business, but he halted again at the eleventh hour and refused to pick up the gage of battle. Perhaps he was nearer right than his antagonist. The war was over, and the lives of several hundred men were in his keeping. He could afford to be lenient in this, the last act of the drama, and he was. Whatever his motives, the challenge remained unaccepted. As for Shelby, he absolutely prayed for a meeting. The old ardor of battle broke out like a hidden fire, and burnt up every other consideration. He would have staked all and risked all upon the issue of the fight—one man against three.

The march went rapidly on. But one adventure occurred after Williams' brief battle, and that happened in this wise: Some stores belonging to the families of Confederate soldiers had been robbed by renegades and deserters a few hours previous to Shelby's arrival in the neighborhood. A delegation of women came to his camp seeking restitution. He gave them retribution. Eleven miles from the plundered habitations was a rugged range of hills, inaccessable to most soldiers who had ridden and raided about its vicinity. Here, as another Rob Roy, the leader of the robber band had his rendezvous. This band numbered, all told, nearly three hundred, and a motley band it was, composed of Mexicans, deserters from both armies, Indians, men from Arizona and California, and desperate fugitives from justice, whose names were changed, and whose habitations had been forgotten. To these hills the property had been taken, and to these hills went Slayback with two hundred men. He found the goods piled up breast high, and in front of them, to defend them, were about two hundred robbers. They scarcely waited for a fire. Slayback charged them with a great rush, and with the revolver solely. The nature of the ground alone prevented the attack from becoming an extermination. Slayback finished his work, as he always did, thoroughly and well, and returned to the command without the loss of a man.

About this time three men came to Shelby and represented themselves as soldiers of Lee's army who were abandoning the country, and who wished to go with him to Mexico. They were enrolled at once and assigned to a company. In a day or two some suspicions were aroused from the fact of their being well acquainted with the Spanish language, speaking it fluently upon every occasion when an opportunity offered. Now, Lee's soldiers had but scant time for the acquirement of such accomplishments, and it became at last a question of some doubt as to the truth of the statements of these three men. To expose them fully it cost one of them his arm, the other two their lives, together with the lives of thirteen Mexicans, who guiltless in the intention, yet sinned in the act.

When within three days' journey of the Rio Grande, Gen. Smith expressed a desire to precede the regiment into Mexico, and asked for an escort. This was cheerfully furnished, and Langhorne received his orders to guard the commander-in-chief of the Trans-Mississippi Department safely to the river, and as far beyond as the need might be, if it were to the Pacific ocean. There was not a drop of the miser's blood in Shelby's veins. In everything he was prodigal—of his money, when he had any, of his courage, of his blood, of his men, of his succor, of his influence, of his good deeds to his comrades and his superior officers, and of his charities to others not so strong and so dauntless as himself. With Smith, there went also, Magruder, Prevost, Wilcox, Bee, and a score of other officers, who had business with certain French and Mexican officers at Piedras Negras, and who were tired of the trained marching and the regular encampments of the disciplined soldiers.

Langhorne did his duty well. Rigid in all etiquette, punctilious in the performance of every obligation, as careful of his charge as he could have been of a post of honor in the front of battle, Smith said to him, when he bade him good-bye:

"With an army of such soldiers as Shelby has, and this last sad act in the drama of exile would have been left unrecorded."

CHAPTER VI.

Eagle Pass is on one side of the Rio Grande river, Piedras Negras upon the other. The names indicate the countries. Wherever there is an American there is always an eagle. Two thousand Mexican soldiers held Piedras Negras—followers of Juarez—quaint of costume and piratical of aspect. They saw the head of Shelby's column *debouching* from the *plateau* above the river—they saw the artillery planted and commanding the town—they saw the trained soldiers form up rapidly to the right and left, and they wondered greatly thereat. No boats would come over. Not a skiff ventured beyond the shade of the Mexican shore, and not a sign of life, except the waving of a blanket at intervals, or the glitter of a sombrero through the streets, and the low, squat adobes.

How to get over was the question. The river was high and rapid.

"Who can speak Spanish?" asked Shelby.

Only one man answered—him of the senorita of Senora—a recruit who had joined at Corsicana, and who had neither name nor lineage.

"Can you swim?" asked Shelby.

"Well."

"Suppose you try for a skiff, that we may open negotiations with the town."

"I dare not. I am afraid to go over alone."

Shelby opened his eyes. For the first time in his life such answer had been made by a soldier. He scarcely knew what the man was saying.

"*Afraid*!" This with a kind of half pity. "Then stand aside." This with a cold contempt. Afterwards his voice rang out with its old authority.

"Volunteers for the venture—swimmers to the front." Fifty stalwart men dashed down to the water, dismounted—waiting. He chose but two—Dick Berry and George Winship—two dauntless young hearts fit for any forlorn hope beneath the sun. The stream was wide, but they plunged in. No matter for the drowning. They took their chances as they took the waves. It was only one more hazard of battle. Before starting, Shelby had spoken to Collins:

"Load with canister. If a hair of their heads is hurt, not one stone upon another shall be left in Piedras Negras."

The current was strong and beat the men down, but they mastered it, and laid hands upon a skiff whose owner did not come to claim it. In an hour a flag of truce was carried into the town, borne by Col. Frank Gordon, having at his back twenty-five men with sidearms alone.

Governor Biesca, of the State of Coahuila, half soldier and half civilian, was in command—a most polished and elegant man, who quoted his smiles and italicised his gestures. Surrounded by a glittering staff, he dashed into the Plaza and received Gordon with much of pomp and circumstance. Further on in the day Shelby came over, when a long and confidential interview was held between the American and the Mexican—between the General and the Governor—one blunt, abrupt, a little haughty and suspicious—the other suave, voluble, gracious in promises, and magnificent in offers and inducements.

Many good days before this interview—before the terrible tragedy at that Washington theatre where a President fell dying in the midst of his army and his capital—Abraham Lincoln had made an important revelation, indirectly, to some certain Confederate chieftains. This came through General Frank B. Blair to Shelby, and was to this effect: The struggle will soon be over. Overwhelmed by the immense resources of the United States, the Southern government is on the eve of an utter collapse. There will be a million of men disbanded who have been inured to the license and the passions of war, and who may be troublesome, if nothing more. An open road will be left through Texas for all who wish to enter Mexico. The Confederates can take with them a portion or all of the arms and war munitions now held by them, and when the days of their enlistment are over, such Federal soldiers as may desire shall also be permitted to join the Confederates across the Rio Grande, uniting afterwards in an effort to drive out the French and re-establish Juarez and the Republic. Such guarantees had Shelby received, and while on the march from Corsicana to Eagle Pass, a multitude of messages overtook him from Federal regiments and brigades, begging him to await their arrival—a period made dependent upon their disbandment. They wished above all things to take service with him, and to begin again a war upon imperialism after the war upon slavery.

Governor Biesca exhibited his authority as Governor of Coahuila, and as Commander-in-Chief of Coahuila, Tamaulipas and New Leon, and offered Shelby the military control of these three states, retaining to himself only the civil. He required of him but one thing, a full, free and energetic support of Benito Jaurez. He suggested, also, that Shelby should remain for several months at Piedras Negras, recruiting his regiment up to a division, and that when he felt himself sufficiently strong to advance, he should move against Monterey, held by General Jeanningros, of the Third French Zouaves, and some two thousand soldiers of the Foreign Legion.

The picture, as painted by this fervid Mexican, was a most attractive one, and to a man like Shelby, so ambitious of military fame, and so filled with the romance and the adventure of his situation, it was doubly so. At least he was a devout Liberal. Having but little respect for Mexican promises or Mexican civilization, he yet knew that a corps of twenty thousand Americans could be easily recruited, and that after he once got a foothold in the country, he could preserve it for all time. His ideas were all of conquest. If he dreamed at all, his dreams were of Cortez. He saw the golden gates of Sonora rolled back at his approach, and in his visions, perhaps, there were glimpses of those wonderful mines guarded even now as the Persians guarded the sacred fire of their gods.

The destiny of the Expedition was in this interview. Looking back now through the placid vista of the peaceless years, there are but few of all that rugged band who would speak out today as they did about the council board on the morrow after the American and the Mexican had shaken hands and went their separate ways.

This council was long, and earnest, and resolute. Men made brief speeches, but they counted as so much gold in the scales that had the weighing of the future. If Shelby was more elaborate and more eloquent, that was his wont, be sure there were sights his fervid fancy saw that to others were unrevealed, and that evolving itself from the darkness and the doubts of the struggle ahead was the fair form of a new empire, made precious by knightly deeds, and gracious with romantic perils and achievements.

Shelby spoke thus to his followers, when silence had fallen, and men were face to face with the future:

"If you are all of my mind, boys, and will take your chances along with me, it is Juarez and the Republic from this on until we die here, one by one, or win a kingdom. We have the nucleus of a fine army—we have cannon, muskets, ammunition, some good prospects for recruits, a way open to Sonora, and according to the faith that is in us will be the measure of our loss or victory. Determine for yourselves. You know Biesca's offer. What he fails to perform we will perform for ourselves, so that when the game is played out there will be scant laughter over any Americans trapped or slain by treachery."

There were other speeches made, briefer than this one by the leader, and some little of whispering apart and in eagerness. At last Elliott stood up—the spokesman. He had been a fighting Colonel of the Old Brigade, he had been wounded four times, he was very stern and very true, and so the lot fell to him to make answer.

"General, if you order it, we will follow you into the Pacific Ocean; but we are all Imperialists, and would prefer service under Maximilian."

"Is this your answer, men?" and Shelby's voice had come back to its old cheery tones.

"It is."

"Final?"

"As the grave."

"Then it is mine, too. Henceforth we will fight under Maximilian. Tomorrow, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the march shall commence for Monterey. Let no man repine. You have chosen the Empire, and, perhaps, it is well, but bad or good, your fate shall be my fate, and your fortune my fortune."

The comrade spoke then. The soldier had spoken at Marshall, at Corsicana, at San Antonio, and in the long interview held with Biesca. Time has revealed many things since that meeting in June, 1865—many things that might have been done and well done, had the frank speech of Elliott remained unspoken—had the keen feeling of sympathy between the French and the Confederates been less romantic. Shelby was wiser then than any man who followed him, and strong enough to have forced them in the pathway that lay before *his* eyes so well revealed, but he would not for the richest province in Mexico. And as the conference closed, he said, in passing out:

"Poor, proud fellows—it is principle with them, and they had rather starve under the Empire than feast in a Republic. Lucky, indeed, for many of them if to famine there is not added a fusillade."

Governor Biesca's bland face blankly fell when Shelby announced to him the next morning the decision of the conference. He had slept upon the happiness of a *coup d'etat;* when he awoke it was a phantasy. No further arguments availed him, and he made none. When a Mexican runs his race, and comes face to face with the inevitable, he is the most indifferent man in the world. A muttered *bueana*, a folded cigarrito, a bow to the invisible, and he has made his peace with his conscience and his God, and lies or sighs in the days that come after as the humor of the fancy takes him.

Biesca had all of his nation's *nonchalance*, and so, when for his master's service he could not get men, he tried for munitions of war. Negotiations for the purchase of the arms, the artillery, and the ammunition were begun at once. A *prestamo* was levied. Familiarity with this custom had made him an adept. Being a part of the national education, it was not expected that one so high in rank as a Governor would be ignorant of its rudiments.

Between Piedras Negras and Monterey the country was almost a wilderness. A kind of debatable ground—the robbers had raided it, the Liberals had plundered it, and the French had desolated it. As Shelby was to pass over it, he could not carry with him his teams, his wagons, his artillery, and his supply trains. Besides, he had no money to buy food, even if food was to be had, and as it had been decided to abandon Juarez, it was no longer necessary to retain the war material. Hence the *prestamo*. A list of the merchants was made; the amount assessed to each was placed opposite his name; an adjutant with a file of soldiers, called upon the interested party; bowed to him; wished him happiness and high fortune; pointed to the ominous figures, and waited. Generally they did not wait long. As between the silver and the guardhouse, the merchant chose the former, paid his toll, cursed the Yankees, made the sign of the cross, and went to sleep.

By dint of much threatening, and much mild persuasiveness—such persuasiveness as bayonets give—sixteen thousand dollars were got together, and, for safety, were deposited in the custom house. On the morrow they were to be paid out.

The day was almost a tropical one. No air blew about the streets, and a white glare came over the sands and settled as a cloud upon the houses and upon the water. The men scattered in every direction, careless of consequences, and indifferent as to results. The cafes were full. Wine and women abounded. Beside the bronzed faces of the soldiers were the tawny faces of the senoritas. In the passage of the drinking-horns the men kissed the women. Great American oaths came out from the *tiendas*, harsh at times, and resonant at times. Even in their wickedness they were national.

A tragedy was making head, however, in spite of the white glare of the sun, and the fervid kisses under the rose. The three men, soldiers of Lee's army ostensibly—men who had been fed and sheltered—were tempting providence beyond the prudent point. Having the hearts of sheep, they were dealing with lions. To their treachery, they were about to add bravado—to the magazine they were about to apply the torch.

There is a universal Mexican law which makes a brand a bible. From its truth there is no appeal. Every horse in the country is branded, and every brand is entered of record, just as a deed or legal conveyance. Some of these brands are intricate, some unique, some as fantastic as a jester's cap, some a single letter of the alphabet, but all legal and lawful brands just the same, and good to pass muster anywhere so only there are alcaldes and sandalled soldiers about. Their logic is extremely simple, too. You prove the brand and take the horse, no matter who rides him, nor how great the need for whip and spur.

In Shelby's command there were a dozen magnificent horses, fit for a king's race, who wore a brand of an unusual fashion—many-lined and intricate as a column of Arabesque. They had been obtained somewhere above San Antonio, and had been dealt with as only cavalry soldiers know how to deal with horses. These the three men wanted. With their knowledge of Spanish, they had gone among the Mexican soldiers, poisoning their minds with tales of American rapine and slaughter, depicting, with not a little of attractive rhetoric, the long and weary march they had made with these marauders that their beloved steeds might not be taken entirely away from them.

The Mexicans listened, not from generosity, but from greed, and swore a great oath by the Virgin that the *gringos* should deliver up every branded horse across the Rio Grande.

Ike and Dick Berry rode each a branded horse, and so did Armistead, Kirtley, Winship, Henry Chiles, John Rudd, Yowell, and two-score more, perhaps, equally fearless, and equally ignorant of any other law besides the law of possession.

The afternoon drill was over. The hot glare was still upon the earth and the sky. If anything, the noise from the cafes came louder and merrier. Where the musical voices were the sweetest, were the places where the women abounded with disheveled hair, and eyes of tropical dusk.

Ike Berry had ridden one of these branded horses into the street, running by regimental headquarters, and sat with one leg crossed upon the saddle, lazily smoking. He was a low, squat Hercules, free of speech and frank of nature. In the battle he always laughed; only when eating was he serious, What reverence he had came from the appetite. The crumbs that fell from his long, yellow beard were his benediction.

Other branded horses were hitched about, easy of access and unnoted of owner. The three men came into the street, behind them a young Mexican Captain handsome as Adonis. This Captain led thirty-five soldiers, with eyes to the front and guns at a trail.

Jim Wood lounged to the door of a *cafe* and remarked them as they filed by. As he returned, he spoke to Martin Kritzer, toying with an Indian girl, beaded and beautiful:

"They are in skirmishing order. Old Joe has delivered the arms; it may be we shall take them back again."

One of the men went straight up to Ike Berry, as he sat cross-legged upon his horse, and laid his hand upon the horse's bridle.

Ike knew him and spoke to him cheerily:

"How now, comrade?"

Short answer, and curt:

"This is my horse; he wears my brand; I have followed him to Mexico. Dismount!"

A long white wreath of smoke curled up from Ike's meerschaum in surprise. Even the pipe entered a protest. The old battle-smile came back to his face, and those who were nearest and knew him best, knew that a dead man would soon lay upon the street. He knocked the ashes from his pipe musingly; he put the disengaged foot back gently in the stirrup; he rose up all of a sudden the very incarnation of murder; there was a white gleam in the air; a heavy saber that lifted itself up and circled, and when it fell a stalwart arm was shredded away, as a girl might sever a silken chain or the tendrils of a vine. The ghastly stump, not over four inches from the shoulder, spouted blood at every heart throb. The man fell as one paralyzed. A shout arose. The Mexicans spread out like a fan, and when the fan closed it had surrounded Berry, and Williams, and Kirtley, and Collins, and Armistead, and Langhorne, and Henry Chiles, and Jim Wood, and Rudd, and Moreland, and Boswell, and McDougall, and the brothers Kritzer. Yowell alone broke through the cordon and rushed to Shelby.

Shelby was sitting in a saloon discussing cognac and catalan with the Englishman. On the face of the last there was a look of sorrow. Could it have been possible that the sombre shadows of the Salinas were already beginning to gather about his brow?

A glance convinced Shelby that Yowell was in trouble.

"What is it?" he asked.

"They are after the horses."

"What horses?"

"The branded horses; those obtained from the Rosser ranch."

"Ah! and after we have delivered the arms, too, Mexican like—Mexican like."

He arose as he spoke and looked out upon the street. Some revolvers were being fired. These, in the white heat of the afternoon, sounded as the tapping of woodpeckers. Afterwards a steady roar of rifles told how the battle went.

"The rally! the rally!—sound the rally!" Shelby cried to his bugler, as he dashed down to where the Mexicans were swarming about Berry and the few men nearest to him. "We have eaten of their salt, and they have betrayed us; we have come to them as friends, and they would strip us like barbarians. It is war again—war to the knife!"

At this moment the wild, piercing notes of an American bugle were heard—clear, penetrating, defiant—notes that told of sore stress among comrades, and pressing need of succor.

The laughter died in the *cafes* as a night wind when the morning comes. The bugle sobered all who were drunk with drink or dalliance. Its voice told of danger near and imminent—of a field needing harvesters who knew how to die.

The men swarmed out of every doorway—poured from under every *portal*—flushed, furious, ravenous for blood. They saw the Mexicans in the square, the peril of Berry and those nearest to him, and they asked no further questions. A sudden crash of revolvers came first, close and deadly; a yell, a shout, a then and fierce, hot charge. Ras. Woods, with a short Enfield rifle in his hand, stood fair in the street looking up at the young Mexican Captain with his cold gray eyes that had in them never a light of pity. As the press gathered about him, the rifle crept straight to the front and rested there a moment, fixed as fate. It looked as if he was aiming at a flower—the dark olive beauty of the Spaniard was so superb.

"Spare him!" shouted a dozen reckless soldiers in a breath, "he is too young and too handsome to die."

In vain! A sharp, sudden ring was the response; the Captain tossed his arms high in the air, leaped up suddenly as if to catch something above his head, and fell forward upon his face, a corpse. A wail of women arose upon the sultry evening—such as may have been heard in David's household when back from the tangled brushwood they brought the beautiful Absalom.

"The life upon his yellow hair,
But not within his eyes."

The work that followed was quick enough and deadly enough to appal the stoutest. Seventeen Mexicans were killed, including the Captain, together with the two Americans who had caused the encounter. The third, strange to say, recovered from his ghastly wound, and can tell to this day, if he still lives, of the terrible prowess of that American soldier who shredded his arm away as a scythe blade might a handful of summer wheat.

A dreadful commotion fell upon Piedras Negras after the battle in the street had been finished. The long roll was beaten, and the Mexican garrison rushed to arms. Shelby's men were infuriated beyond all immediate control, and mounted their horses without orders for a further battle. One detachment, led by Williams, swept down to where the artillery and ammunition wagons were packed and dispersed the guard after a rattling broadside. Langhorne laid hands upon the Custom-house and huddled its sentinels in a room as so many boys that needed punishment. Separate parties under Fell, Winship, Henry Chiles, Kirtley, Jim Wood and Martin Kirtzer seized upon the skiffs and the boats at the wharf. They meant to pillage and sack the town, and burn it afterward. Women went wailing through the streets; the church bells rang furiously; windows were darkened and barricaded; and over all the din and turmoil—the galloping of horses, and the clanking of steel—arose the harsh, gathering cry of the Mexican long roll—sullen, hoarse discordant. Shelby stormed at his men, and threatened. For the first and last time in his career, they had passed beyond his keeping. At a critical juncture Governor Biesca rushed down into the square, pale, his hat off pleading in impassioned Spanish, apologizing in all the soft vowels known to that soft and sounding language.

Shelby would bow to him in great gravity, understanding not one word, conversing in English when the tide of Spanish had run itself out:

"It's mostly Greek to me, Governor, but the devil is in the boys, for all that."

Discipline triumphed at last, however, and one by one the men came back to their duty and their obedience. They formed a solid, ominous looking column in front of headquarters, dragging with them the cannon that had been sold and the cannon they had captured from the enemy.

"We want to sleep tonight," they said, in their grim soldier humor, "and for fear of Vesuvius, we have brought the crater with us."

As the night deepened, a sudden calm fell upon the city. Biesca had sent his own troops to barracks, and had sworn by every saint in the calendar that for the hair of every American hurt he would sacrifice a hetacomb of Mexicans. He feared and not without cause, the now thoroughly aroused and desperate men who were inflamed by drink, and who had good reason for much ill-will and hatred. To Shelby's assurances of safety he offered a multitude of bows, each one more profound and more lowly than the other, until at last, from the game of war, the two chiefs had become to play a game of diplomacy. Biesca wanted his cannon back, and Shelby wanted his money for them. In the end both were satisfied.

The men had gone to quarters, and supper was being cooked. To the feeling of revenge had been added at last one of forgiveness. Laughter and songs issued again from the wine-shops. At this moment a yell was heard—a yell that was a cross between an Indian war-whoop and a Mexican cattle-call. A crowd of soldiers gathered hastily in the street. Again the yell was repeated, this time nearer, clearer, shriller than before. Much wonderment ensued. The day had been one of surprises. To a fusilade there was to be added a frolic. Up the street leading from the river, two men approached slowly, having a third man between them. When near enough, the two first were recognized as the soldiers, Joseph Moreland and William Fell. The other man, despite the swarthy hue of his countenance, was ghastly pale. He had to be dragged rather than led along. Fell had his sabre drawn, Moreland his revolver. The first was fierce enough to perform amputation; the last suave enough to administer chloroform.

When Moreland reached the edge of the crowd he shouted:

"Make way, Missourians, and therefore barbarians, for the only living and animated specimen of the *genus* Polyglott now upon the North American continent. Look at him, you heathens, and uncover yourselves. Draw nigh to him, you savages, and fall upon your knees. Touch him you blood-drinkers, and make the sign of the cross."

"What did you call him?" asked Armistead.

"A Polyglott, you Fejee Islander; a living dictionary; a human mausoleum with the bones of fifty languages; a *lusus naturae* in a land of garlic, stilettos, and straw hats."

The man himself was indeed a curiosity. Born of Creole parents in New Orleans, he had been everywhere and had seen everything. When captured, he was a clerk in the Custom-house. French, Spanish, English, Italian, German, modern

Greek, Gumbo French, Arabic, Indian dialects without number, and two score or so of *patois* rolled off from his tongue in harsh or horried accents accordingly as the vowels or the consonants were uppermost. He charmed Shelby from the beginning. When he felt that he was free his blood began to circulate again like quicksilver. Invited to supper, he remained late over his wine, singing songs in all manner of languages, and boasting in all manner of tongues. When he bowed himself out, his voice had in it the benediction that follows prayer.

That night he stole two thousand dollars.

The money for the arms and the ammunition had been stored in the Custom-house and he had the key. The next morning a sack was missing. Biesca swore, Shelby seemed incredulous, the Polyglott only smiled. Between the oath and and the smile there was this difference: the first came from empty pockets, the last from more money than the pockets could hold. Master of many languages, he ended by being master of the situation.

In the full flow of the Polyglott's eloquence, however, Shelby forgot his loss, and yielded himself again to the invincible charms of his conversation. When they parted for the last time Shelby had actually given him a splendid pistol, ivory-handled, and wrought about the barrel with gold and figure work. So much for erudition. Even in the desert there are date and palm trees.

The formal terms of the transfer were concluded at last. Biesca reccived his arms, paid his money, buried the dead soldiers, and blessed all who came into Piedras Negras and went out from it. His last blessings were his best. They came from his heart, and from the happy consciousness that the Americans were about to depart forever from the midst of his post of honor and his possessions.

Marching southward from the town, the column had reached the rising ground that overlooked the bold sweep of the rapid river, the green shores of Texas beyond, the fort on the hill, from which a battered Confederate flag yet hung, and a halt was called. Rear and van the men were silent.

All eyes were turned behind them. Some memories of home and kindred may have come then as dreams come in the night, some placid past may have outlined itself as a mirage against the clear sky of the distant north, some voice may have spoken even then to ears that heard and heeded, but the men made no sign. The bronzed faces never softened. As the ranks close up, waiting, a swift horseman galloped up from the town—a messenger. He sought the leader and found him by instinct.

"*Amigo*," he said, giving his hand to Shelby.

"Friend, yes. It is a good name. Would you go with us?"

"No."

"What will you have?"

"One last word at parting. Once upon a time in Texas an American was kind to me. Maybe he saved my life. I would believe so, because I want a reason for what is done between us."

"Speak out fairly, man. If you need help, tell me."

"No help, Senor, no money, no horses, no friendship—none of these. Only a few last words."

"What are they?"

"*Beware of the Salinas!*"

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

In commemoration of the centennial of the signing of the Missouri Enabling Act by President Monroe on March 6, 1820, the annual meeting of The State Historical Society of Missouri will be held on March 6, 1920. The regular business meeting for the election of officers and trustees will be held in the rooms of the Society in the Library Building in Columbia. Following the meeting a dinner will be given at the Daniel Boone Tavern. Speakers of state-wide prominence will be present to deliver addresses on Missouri history. Of special interest to all will be the reading of a paper on "Missouri Taverns" by Walter B. Stevens, president of the State Historical Society.

COMMENTS.

"Permit me to acknowledge receipt of the *Missouri Historical Review* for July. I have just read your excellent contribution on 'Missouri and the War' and enjoyed it very much. It is the best summary I have seen."

Hon. Frederick D. Gardner,
Governor of the State of Missouri,
Jefferson City, Missouri,
August 27, 1919.

"I have in my library the recent issues of the *Missouri Historical Review.* I have been re-reading the Duden letters. They certainly are fine."

J. N. Stonebraker, President
Missouri Press Association,
Carrollton, Missouri,
August 22, 1919.

"I find the *Missouri Historical Review* a constant source of interest and information. No magazine that comes to my desk is more warmly welcomed or more truly enjoyed."

Mrs. Ardella Dockery Still,
President Missouri Federation of Woman's Clubs,
Kirksville, Missouri,
October 9, 1919.

"I have read with interest your sixth article 'Missouri and the War,' published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, and the narration of what was accomplished at home while our boys were turning the tide in the great World's war abroad is most interestingly set forth."

Edward J. Smith, General Solicitor
Southwestern Region,
United States Railroad Administration,
St. Louis, Missouri,
September 13, 1919.

"I want to thank you for your sixth article on 'Missouri and the War.' I received it this morning and I appreciate it very much. You have done a wonderfully good work and published a valuable work which all members of the Society and all who are interested should read."

J. B. White, President
Missouri Valley Historical Society,
Kansas City, Missouri,
September 12, 1919.

"Will you permit me to express my appreciation of the translation of Gottfried Duden's 'Report' of his experiences in Missouri in 1824-1827. I have read it with much pleasure, and believe it to be a valuable source for the understanding of our western settlement."

Prof. C. H. Hull,
Professor of American History,
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York,
November 10, 1919.

"The last number of the *Review* for October, 1919, is the best one issued yet."

Judge T. R. R. Ely,
Kennett, Missouri,
November 12, 1919.

"I want to say that I appreciated the return of the series of historical articles in Missouri newspapers."

David W. Eaton,
U. S. Surveyor,
Federal Building,
Helena, Montana,
November 15, 1919.

"One of the interesting features of the current number of the *Missouri Historical Review*, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, is a compilation of historical articles appearing in the newspapers of the state relating to Missouri, its early development, tales of its pioneers, its industrial expansion, romantic episodes of its history and human interest stories of its native sons and daughters. The title of each article, the newspaper in which it was originally published and the date of publication are given, and the period covered runs from September, 1917, to July, 1918. In this compilation The Kansas City Star heads the list, being credited with fifty original articles covering Missouri historical features, and in many of the articles taken from other papers of the state credit is given for their original appearance in The Star."

Editorial in the *Kansas City Star*,
August 25, 1919.

"Your last number of our *Missouri Historical Review* which came recently is full of meat, and I want to compliment you on the excellent bill of fare you are providing."

William Clark Breckenridge,
Historian and Bibliographer,
St. Louis, Missouri,
September 4, 1919.

"Upon recommendation of G. A. Mahan, I recently became a member of this society and I have just received my first copy of the *Missouri Historical Review.* I find it so interesting I want it to go to my son, and recommend him for membership."

T. G. Dulany,
Hannibal, Missouri,
August 30, 1919.

"I have my regular copy of the July Review. It is full of very valuable information. Your sixth article on 'Missouri and the War' is especially instructive, shows a wonderful amount of work, pains-taking detail and preserves for Missourians much very valuable information. The *Missouri Historical Review* should go into every home in the State."

Geo. A. Mahan,
Hannibal, Missouri,
August 26, 1919.

KANSAS CITY THE HEART OF AMERICA.

Two and a half million dollars for a Liberty Memorial Building is Kansas City's tribute to her dead and her honor to her living service men. The campaign for funds was started on October 25th with a great parade in which every element that had to do with victory was represented. More than 7,000 persons were in the line of march.

A commemoration monument was first planned, but this idea gave way to a greater one—in the words of R. A. Long, who had charge of the campaign:

"At once we visualize this beautiful memorial as the nucleus of a great art center, with art gallery, museum, music auditorium and building, a grand opera house, and other structures of that character—a magnificent group in a splendid setting."

The gifts ranged in amount from 25 cents to $80,000 and the subscribers numbered 100,000. The drive for funds lasted ten days, from October 27th to November 6th.

Two and a half million dollars in ten days! Most persons would have said that it simply could not be done. But there were a few men who knew the real stuff of which Kansas City is made. They knew the Kansas City Spirit which had successfully completed enterprises just as great in years past. They believed the people would get the vision of what a worthy memorial would mean to the city. That belief was justified.

Congratulations are due the committee of two hundred and fifty who conceived the idea and planned the drive for funds. Unstinted praise belongs to Chairman R. A. Long, who was in direct charge of the campaign, and his five generals, George S. Hovey, Z. T. Briggs, Charles L. Scott, S. J. Whitmore and Homer B. Mann, with Mrs. Howard McCutcheon in charge of the women's committee and Dr. T. C. Unthank in charge of the negro solicitation.

Once again the Kansas City Spirit, perhaps better known in its commercial phase, has shown itself equal to the task at hand, and this time in an enterprise largely idealistic. Kansas City saw the vision and heeded the call. With a better understanding, with a greater meaning, Kansas City may truly be called the Heart of America.

A MISSOURIAN HOLDS HIGHEST OFFICE IN NAVY.

Rear Admiral Robert E. Coontz today holds the highest office in the United States Navy. In October, 1919, Rear Admiral Coontz was appointed Chief of the Naval Operations. His elevation to that rank gives to Missourians two of the highest positions in Uncle Sam's war forces. The rise of Admiral Coontz has been unusually rapid. He is only fifty-five years old, and is one of the youngest men ever to hold the place of Chief of Naval Operations. A little more than a year ago he was a Captain, ranking 74th in line of precedence in the naval register. He was made a Rear Admiral in January, 1918, being one of twelve captains to be awarded that rank at the time. This Missourian is accounted one of the best executives in the Navy and his future holds promise of highest success. Rear Admiral Coontz's mother still lives in Hannibal and he pays his old home one or more visits each year.

THE MISSOURI WOMAN'S CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY.

The Missouri Woman's Club of New York City celebrated the Armistice Anniversary on November 11th with a ball at Hotel Waldorf-Astoria Roof-Garden. General Pershing was the guest of honor, and distinguished representatives from the Army, Navy and Civil life were present. The Missouri Woman's Club of New York City has been prominent in War Camp Community service work during the past year. The officers of the club are: Mrs. Frank M. Swacker, president; Mrs. Wm. Baldwin Smith and Mrs. Edw. T. Herbert, vice-presidents; Mrs. Ernest Bell, recording secretary; Mrs. E. L. Bartlett, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Wm.

F. Meyer, Treasurer; Mrs. Geo. W. Hooks, auditor; Mrs. Edward H. Vradenburgh, registrar; Mrs. Adolph Krisner, historian; Mrs. L. G. Camp, Mrs. Reynolds Whitney, and Mrs. F. Harren, directors.

HARMONY MISSION.

(Extract from the address of Hon. W. O. Atkeson, of Butler, Missouri, delivered at the Bates County Old Settlers Reunion on September 3, 1919.)

"Now I come to the serious purpose of this talk. Scarcely a thing now remains to mark the precise location of Harmony Mission. Only one little undressed sandstone with only three letters on it, and no date, now marks the resting place of a number of this consecrated and devoted missionary family. This band of missionaries arrived upon Bates county soil just three days before Missouri became a member of the sisterhood of states, and just three days after that epochal event in our history, the chiefs and warriors of the Grand Osages in a solemn meeting, dignified by both Christian and heathen ceremony, designated and marked off the beautiful tract of land to be owned and occupied as the home of the Missionaries.

"So that the one hundredth anniversary of the State and this Mission come practically together on the 10th of August, 1921. I propose that the people of Bates county, by popular subscription or otherwise, shall purchase the 30 acres upon which the missionaries builded their log cabins, their schoolhouse, digged their great well, and made other improvements; that the log cabins be rebuilt historically correct, the well be cleaned out and restored, and the whole be made into a well-ordered public park, as nearly as may be a replica of the place when inhabited by the missionaries; and that a suitable monument of granite or marble, or of native stone be erected thereon to commemorate their great work for Christian civilization and to perpetuate the names and sacrifices of the heroes and heroines of that consecrated band forever.

It will only cost a few thousand to do this, and we owe it to our past and to our future to do it, and it should be begun now and finished in time, so that a great unveiling and religious celebration could be held on the premises on August 10, 1921; and thus make the occasion our celebration of the centennial year, as a State, a joint celebration.

"If private enterprise will do its part I have little doubt that the legislature will appropriate sufficient money to take it over and thus preserve to future generations the memory of those who so largely planted and shaped the progress of Christian civilization in all Southwest Missouri.

"I urge this matter upon the attention of you Old Settlers, at this time—upon the attention of all our people; because time is now precious—it will not be long until August 10, 1921, rolls around, and we should be up and doing soon. It would be fit and proper when all this is accomplished, for this Old Settlers Association to have and hold its annual meeting a little earlier than usual that year—on August 10, 1921—in connection with the general celebration of our State centennial. It would doubtless be an enjoyable occasion, one creditable to the thrift and public spirit of our people, and a glorious consummation of a thing worth while to this plendid county and this great Commonwealth. Who will make the motion?"

MISSOURI'S CENTENNIAL.

A most suggestive and valuable article on Missouri's Centennial is found in the September, 1919, issue of *The Rural School Messenger*, published by the Division of Rural Education in the State Teachers College at Kirksville, Missouri. The author is a well known Missouri historian and author, Professor E. M. Violette, of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College. Copies of this article can be obtained from that institution. Many valuable suggestions are contained in it relating to the practical preparation for local celebrations on the part of local committees. These suggestions will be found helpful to community organizers and to teachers. Professor Violette wisely advises against commercializing local centennial exercises by permitting shows and street fairs to be given at the same time. The author also wisely advises communities to not only commemorate the best achievements of the State, but also to realize the State's needs in those things necessary to keep pace with modern advancement. "For example, it will not do to close our eyes to the present situation in our educational system and prate about our glorious schools as though they had reached the acme of perfection." Professor Violette's position, which is well taken, proposes that local centennial celebrations should not only awaken in the people of Missouri the desire to commemorate the commonwealth's achievements, but should also awaken a desire to achieve better things in the years to come.

THE WAR WITH GERMANY.

Thanks to the energy and enterprise of Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff, U. S. War Department, the American Nation has been presented with a concise and interesting summary of the part taken by it in the late war. This is contained in Colonel Ayres' work *The War With Germany.* (Washington, Govt. Prtg. Office, 1919.) The book was compiled on the request of the Secretary of War, and is now available for free distribution.

In some respects the work is almost unique compared to other Government publications. It is interesting, brief, and well written. Its array of figures invite rather than repel consideration. The salient points of America's participation in the world conflict are set forth in well-selected generalizations. All important data is presented in the most popular manner. Ninety-eight maps, diagrams, and tables, are used to illustrate the 149 pages of text, and a carefully prepared index is also included. The subjects considered are: "Four million men," "Six months of training," "Transporting 10,000 men a day," "Food, clothing, and equipment," "Springfields, Enfields, and Brownings," "Two thousand guns on the firing line," "Airplanes, motors, and balloons," "Two hundred days of battle," "Health and casualties," "A million dollars a day," and "Some international comparisons." Every public library should request a copy of this work for its readers. It is a valuable book and has been published at an opportune hour.

CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR AWARDED SIX MISSOURIANS.

First Class Private Charles D. Barger of Stotts City, Missouri, upon learning that two daylight patrols had been caught out in No Man's Land and were unable to return, in company with another stretcher bearer, upon their own initiative, made two trips 500 yards beyond the American lines, under constant machine gun fire, and rescued two wounded officers. "And," as Private Barger wrote in a letter to his uncle at Stotts City, "without receiving a scratch."

Barger is an orphan, his parents having died when he was two years of age. He was drafted into the service in April, 1918, and went overseas as a member of Company L, 354th Infantry, 89th Division. The act of bravery for which he was decorated occurred near Bois de Bantheville, France, October 31, 1918.

Pvt. John L. Barkley, of Blairstown, Missouri, who won the Congressional Medal of Honor for a "conspicuous act of gallantry in action" on the Argonne front, in a letter to his parents tells the following story of how he enabled the American troops "to gain and hold Hill 253."

"The fiercest battle I was in on the western front was the battle of Verdun on the Argonne front where we sure had some fight for 27 days. Here is where I pulled a stunt that I know you will think sounds fishy, but nevertheless it is absolutely true.

"When our regiment was shot up and could not hold its position with a smoke screen, I planted a captured German machine gun in a French tank which had been blown up and disabled, and when the Dutch made their attack I swept them down like hay in front of a sickle, and no one was with me to help feed the gun. The water cooler boiled dry from the rapid firing of the gun and I emptied my canteen of water into the cooler to start her again. I fired 10,000 rounds of German ammunition of their own steel at them. The Germans called for a special barrage for that tank and more than 200 six-inch shells were dropped at the tank for my full benefit. Some came almost getting this 'Big Creeker,' for they plowed the ground up and made regular ponds where they hit, but not one got me. If I get the Congressional Medal I think I'll be sitting on the world!"

Sergt. Michael B. Ellis, a St. Louis member of the First Division, "Pershing's Own," was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for the single-handed capture of 11 machine guns and their crews, four Germans being killed. The official citation lists 44 men as captured in 7 of the machine gun nests, but does not state how many men were included in the remaining 4 nests that Sergt. Ellis took. Sergt. Ellis has been a member of the regular army for seven years and as he wrote, "Ran the entire gauntlet of battles in which the First Division participated, including my own little battle, without a wound."

For holding at bay more than 50 German soldiers who were manning an enemy outpost with six machine guns, Sergeant Arthur Forrest of Hannibal was awarded the highest honor which the United States confers upon a soldier. When the advance of the 354th infantry near Remonville, France, was held up by a terrific fire from a nest of six enemy machine guns, Sergt. Forrest worked his way within 50 yards of the nest and single-handed charged the guns.

"They were the same enemy who had killed some of my beloved pals," he wrote to his father, which was probably one of the reasons for his entire disregard of his own safety. He succeeded in driving away all of the gunners excepting one, whom he killed with a butt stroke of his rifle, thereby saving the advancing platoon of his company from destruction.

The night of November 8, 1918, found the battalion of which Sergt. M. W. Hatler was a member wedged in on three sides by the Germans. A patrol was sent to reconnoiter the banks of the Meuse River, of which all means of crossing had been destroyed.

"Six men went on the same mission (to get information concerning the enemy) that night," Sergt. Hatler wrote last December. "Two of them lost their lives and only two of us returned with the required information."

Sergt. Hatler and another soldier volunteered to swim across the Meuse, though the opposite bank was held in force by the enemy. His companion was seized by a cramp, caused by the cold water, and drowned, but Sergt. Hatler continued on and, after securing the information desired, swam back and made his report. Sergt. Hatler's home is in Neosho, Missouri.

Capt. Alexander R. Skinker of St. Louis sacrificed himself to save his men. Details of the heroic charge for which he was posthumously decorated, as related in a letter from Major Norman B. Comfort of the 138th Infantry to Captain Skinker's father, were printed in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. Extracts from the letter follow:

"At this particular point in the line, the road into Cheppy (which was the only possible means of entrance) crossed a little stone bridge spanning a creek. The Boche positions were thoroughly concealed with natural growth, trees, hedges, bush and camouflage.

"Probaby a hundred machine guns opened on our line simultaneously with the lifting of the fog. Apparently Alec thought he had located an enemy nest, and set out with two men in advance of his company to silence this nest. The trio consisted of an automatic rifleman, a carrier and Alec. First the carrier (loader) was killed.

"Alec picked up his ammunition pans, continuing on toward the bridge with the rifle functioning—soon both Alec and the rifleman drew a bullet and that is the story. Alec's work was true to his principles of other days. Instead of ordering his men forward to clear the bridge, *he decided to clear the bridge for his men.*"

SENATOR THOMAS H. BENTON'S LAST CAMPAIGN.

(From the *St. Louis Republic.*)

Major B. R. Dysart, chairman of the Macon County Bar and oldest member, and one other living Macon county man, Joel H. Wright, heard United States Senator Thomas H. Benton the last time he visited North Missouri, in 1856. Senator Benton delivered his Macon county address at old Bloomington, which was then the county seat of Macon. There are only one or two of the old-time buildings yet standing in Bloomington. The old bank is there, boarded up and empty, and one or two churches and a couple of warehouses, are about all that is left of the once thrifty county seat. This spring Major Dysart, who was a member of the Macon Historical Society, went to old Bloomington to locate the grove where Benton spoke. Changed as all things were, yet something in the atmosphere, the quiet scene, the whisper of forms long dead, brought memory back.

"Benton arrived on the stage from the East," said Maj. Dysart, indicating the road. "He came on what was known as the Overland Trail, and got out at A. T. Parker's Hotel—that was over there near the bank building. Soon as he stepped out of the stage, Benton was surrounded by a crowd which had waited for him a long time. Saddle horses and teams were tied all around the square. Some of the young fellows—myself among the number—tried to get in front to see the distinguished man, and he was quick to notice it.

" 'Stand back, you men,' he said peremptorily, 'and give these boys a chance. It will be something for their posterity to say they had shook hands with Benton.'

"While the wonderful influence of the dominating fighter was still felt, yet a large part of the crowd was decidedly hostile to him. He knew that, and he glared around at the men about him like a gladiator at bay. Had they come at him with guns, he wouldn't have given away an inch.

THE WILMOT PROVISO.

"One tall fellow from upstate, undaunted by the Senator's threatening aspect, pushed forward.

" 'Senator Benton,' he shouted, 'the people up my way want to know if you voted for the Wilmot proviso! And they told me to bring back a straight answer—yes or no!'

"The crowd cheered.

"The Wilmot proviso, introduced by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, stipulated that slavery should not exist, except for crime, in any territory acquired by the United States from Mexico. At that time most of the Missouri plantations were worked by slaves, and naturally the planters were friendly to the system.

" 'You want an answer as to how Benton voted on the Wilmot proviso, and you shall have it!' roared the Senator in tones that made the other's voice seem gentle. 'Benton was not in the Senate when the measure was taken up, but he left a speech to be read there, sir, and that speech was read, and it killed the proviso.'

"This created immense applause, and the crowd began to veer to the Senator's side again.

"Benton spoke in the afternoon over there to the Southeast. There was a beautiful grove there then, and his great voice seemed to reach easily to the edge of the crowd, great as it was.

"It seems a man named Lamb from Hannibal, had been camping on Benton's trail. The Senator referred to this that day.

" 'You've heard some bleating from a Lamb out this way, I take it,' he said. 'Says he's anti-Benton! Thank God! Anti-Benton! Citizens, you who've read the Bible have heard of the Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites—anti-Christ! The tribe is still with us!

"Nobody introduced Benton. He said he didn't need to be introduced to Missouri Citizens.

"It was Benton's last campaign. He had made many enemies, and was the old guard at Waterloo. They got him at last, but I've always esteemed myself as fortunate to have heard him in his final battle. The crowd seemed with him that day, while he was here, but I guess the feeling against him must have been pretty strong, for soon afterward a merchant tacked over his door here, 'Anti-Benton Store.' It had been a red-letter day in old Bloomington."

PERSONAL.

Dr. J. A. B. Adcock: Born in Miller County, Missouri, August 20, 1851; died at Warrensburg, Missouri, August 19, 1919. He was graduated from a medical college in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1877 and began the practice of his profession in Miller County, Missouri. Later he practiced at Knobnoster, Kansas City and Warrensburg, in the meantime doing research work in New York, Chicago and St. Louis. Dr. Adcock was a member of the State Board of Health thirteen years, under

Folk, Hadley and Major, and was for a part of that time Secretary of the Board.

Chief Justice Henry W. Bond: Born near Brownsville, Tennessee, January 27, 1848; died at Jefferson City, Missouri, September 28, 1919. He was educated in the public schools of Tennessee and at Harvard University. He was admitted to the bar in Tennessee and practiced law there until 1879, when he moved to St. Louis. He was elected to the Missouri Legislature in 1885 and later to a 12-year term as judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals, beginning January 1, 1893. He resigned in 1901 to enter a law partnership with his son. In April, 1911, he was appointed Supreme Court Commissioner and in 1912 was elected to the Supreme Bench for a term of 10 years.

Samuel W. Fordyce: Born in Guernsey County, Ohio, February 7, 1840; died at Atlantic City, New Jersey, August 3, 1919. He began his business life as a railroad station agent on the Central Ohio Railway in 1860. He enlisted at the beginning of the Civil War in the First Ohio Cavalry Volunteers and served throughout the war, at the close of which he was Captain and Inspector General of Cavalry of the Army of the Cumberland. At the close of the war he established the banking house of Fordyce and Rison at Huntsville, Albama. He moved to Arkansas in 1876 and became active as a railroad promoter and became an extensive holder of railroad properties over the entire country. He was one of the founders and developers of Hot Springs, Arkansas, as a health resort. He served as Democratic National Committeeman from both Alabama and Arkansas.

Frederick N. Judson: Born at St. Marys, Georgia, October 7, 1845; died at St. Louis, Missouri, October 18, 1919. He was graduated from Yale University in 1866 and from the law department of Washington University in 1871. He was private secretary to B. Gratz Brown from 1871 to 1873 and was admitted to the Missouri Bar in 1873. He thereafter took a prominent part in various State and National affairs of importance. He was a member of the Board of Freeholders which framed the present city charter of St. Louis and was twice elected a member of the Board of Education of that city. In 1908-09 he was president of the Missouri Bar Association. During the late war he was a prominent member of the National War Labor Bureau. He was also state chairman of the Missouri branch of the League to Enforce Peace.

Rev. James Wideman Lee: Born at Rockbridge, Georgia, November 28, 1849; died at St. Louis, Missouri, October 4, 1919. He was graduated from Emory College, Georgia, in 1874 and was ordained a minister of the M. E. Church, South, in 1876. He was at various times pastor of the M. E. Church, South, in Carrollton, Dalton, Rome, Trinity Church and Park Street Church, Atlanta, all in Georgia, and of St. John's Church in St. Louis. From 1897 to 1901 he was presiding elder of the St. Louis district and later served in that capacity a second and third time. He was quite an extensive writer on religious subjects and a staunch supporter of Barnes Hospital in St. Louis.

Hon. Elijah Miller: Born in Buchanan County, Missouri, in 1839; died at Denver, Missouri, August 15, 1919. As a young man he emigrated to California and at the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Fourth California Infantry and served three years under General Banks in the Southwestern states. After the war he returned to Missouri and settled in Worth County, engaging in business at Denver. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar in Missouri and began the practice of his profession. In 1888 and again in 1892 he was elected to the State Legislature as Representative from Worth County. In 1896 he was elected State Senator from the First District.

Judge James T. Neville: Born in Miller County, Missouri, October 30, 1860; died at Springfield, Missouri, August 8, 1919. He was a graduate of Marionville College, the University of Missouri and Washington University. He began the practice of law at Bolivar and served one term as prosecuting attorney of Polk County. He went to Springfield in 1889 and later served as circuit judge for 18 years. For a number of years prior to his death Judge Neville was a law partner with O. E. Gorman in the firm of Neville & Gorman.

Caleb Perry Organ: Born in Salem, Missouri, January 3, 1877; died at Salem, August 11, 1919. He was educated in the Salem public schools and on his graduation therefrom entered the office of the Salem *Monitor*, which was owned by his father. Upon the death of his father, in 1915, he assumed charge of the *Monitor* and was editor of the paper at the time of his death.

Hon. Joseph Weinhold: Born at Frohna, Missouri, October 3, 1844; died at Wittenberg, Missouri, September 21, 1919. In 1865 he organized a milling company at Wittenberg, known as the Estel, Weinhold Company, and was actively engaged in the milling business until 1915, when he retired. He served six years as county judge of Perry County and was a member of the Missouri General Assembly as Representative from Perry County during the sessions of 1891, 1893, 1895 and 1901.

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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CONTRIBUTORS.

Mary Semple Scott *et al.* See pages 282ff.

Cardinal L. Goodwin, author and teacher, is a native of Arkansas. He received his Ph. D. from the University of California and now holds The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Chair of American History in Mills College, Oakland, Calif. The present scholarly contribution is from Dr. Goodwin's forthcoming work, *The Trans-Mississippi West*, which will appear in 1921.

George S. Grover, a lawyer of St. Louis, has contributed to the *Review* from time to time articles of value on the Civil War in Missouri. A native of Indiana, he was reared in Warrensburg, Missouri. He served in the Union army in Missouri, participating in a number of battles, and rose to the rank of captain under Major Emory S. Foster. Captain Grover has been engaged in railroad work, journalism, and law. For thirty-one years he was connected with the legal department of the Wabash Railroad, for several years he was on the staff of the *St. Louis Journal* and the *St. Louis Times*, and since 1906 he has practiced law in St. Louis.

John A. Oliphant, lawyer and judge, is on the Oklahoma Bench. He formerly lived in Warrensburg, Missouri.

William G. Bek, a native Missourian, is head of the department of Germanic languages in the University of North Dakota. His contributions, brochures and translations relating to German settlements in the United States place him among the highest authorities in this line of historical research. His translation of "Duden's Report," lately published in the REVIEW, is regarded by scholars as one of the most important contributions to western history that has appeared in recent years.

Rollin J. Britton, a lawyer of Kansas City, is a recognized authority on Mormonism in Missouri. During his residence in Daviess county he began his researches in this field. The fruit of his many years of labor is presented to the readers of the REVIEW.

John N. Edwards (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the State has produced.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4 Columbia April-July, 1920

History of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Missouri.

Edited by Miss Mary Semple Scott.

State Presidents.

Mrs. Robert Atkinson, 1910-12.
Mrs. George Gellhorn, 1912-13.
Mrs. W. W. Boyd, June to July, 1913.
Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 1913-16.
Mrs. John R. Leighty, 1916-17.
Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 1917-18.
Mrs. David N. O'Neil, Oct., 1918—March, 1919, Vice-President and Acting President.
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State Work, 1916-17	Mrs. John R. Leighty.
Ratification, Schools, and League of Women Voters	Mrs. George Gellhorn.
"Carry On, St. Louis"	Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke.
Congressional Work	Mrs. Charles Passmore.
The Missouri Woman	Miss Mary Semple Scott.
Leagues:	
Kansas City Susan B. Anthony League	Mrs. Henry N. Ess.
Warrensburg	Mis Laura Runyon.
Columbia	Mrs. Rosa Russell Ingels.
St. Louis Business Women's League	Miss Florence Weigle.

CONTRIBUTORS.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, member State Suffrage Board; chairman of Press for State Association during 1914; first editor of the Missouri Woman, 1915-16; served on Bureau of Publicity under George Creel during the war.

Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce, president St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, 1916-17; first Citizenship School held under her administration; grand-daughter of Mrs. Beverly Allen, and daughter of Mrs. John C. Orrick, both prominent in the first St. Louis suffrage organization, 1867.

Mrs. Robert Atkinson, first president of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association, 1910-12; a leader in the 1910 suffrage movement.

Mrs. E. M. Grossman, member executive board of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League and of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association; noted for her constructive work in passage of suffrage legislation.

Mrs. Thomas McBride, executive secretary for Kansas City and Jackson County in suffrage work, 1917.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, twice president of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association; first vice-president National Woman Suffrage Association; organizer and president first woman's club in state of Nevada; prominent in General Federation of Women's Clubs; chairman Pure Food Commission in Missouri, 1904-08; member Governor's Commission on Tuberculosis, 1910-11; chairman Public Health Commission and member executive board Missouri State Conference of Charities; chairman Hoover registration Missouri Woman's Committee Council National Defense.

Miss Marie B. Ames, sent to Missouri as National Field Director by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to assist in passing of the Missouri Presidential Suffrage Bill in the 1919 Legislature. Since March, 1919, has orgnized and conducted Citizenship Schools in Missouri cities and towns. Is Regional Citizenship Director for Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, and Texas.

Mrs. John R. Leighty, President of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association 1916-17; chairman of the Organization, 1918-19; president Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, 1917-18.

Mrs. George Gellhorn, twice president of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association; former president of the St. Louis League; chairman of Food Conservation on the Missouri Women's Division, Council of National Defense, during the war; chairman St. Louis Central Committee on Food Conservation; member Board of Directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Frederick Blaine Clarke, extension secretary St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, 1918; conducted Citizenship Schools; lecturer on sufrage; in charge of publicity work. Formerly active in suffrage work in Indiana.

Mrs. Charles Passmore, vice-chairman Referendum Suffrage Campaign in Kansas City, 1914; vice-president Missouri Woman Suffrage Association, 1915-18; Congressional chairman for Missouri of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1916-18.

Miss Mary Semple Scott, editor *The Missouri Woman*, 1916-19; member St. Louis Suffrage City Central Committee and State Board; during the war was ward chairman St. Louis Women's Division, Council National Defense for Registration of Women.

Mrs. David N. O' Neill, president St. Louis League, 1912-16; member Legislative Committee, 1912-19; first vice-president State Association; acting president State Association 1918-19; member Executive Committee of National American Suffrage Association; first woman appointed National Democratic Committeewoman for Missouri, 1919.

Miss Mary E. Bulkley, member executive board of St. Louis League and State Association; authoress "An Aid to the Woman Voter in Missouri;" outlined the lectures in government for Citizenship Schools used throughout the State.

Mrs. Henry N. Ess, prominent organizer and officer in Kansas City club and suffrage work; first president Kansas City Woman Suffrage Association, 1911 and of the Susan B. Anthony Suffrage League, 1914; also leader in movement for prison reform in Missouri.

Miss Laura Runyon, organizer of the suffrage movement in Warrensburg, 1911; Congressional chairman for Johnson County, 1916-19; member State Board; one of the three women to draft the constitution of the Missouri League of Women Voters, October, 1919.

Mrs. Rosa Russell Ingels, prominent in club work since 1892; author suffrage articles; made the first public talk on woman suffrage in Columbia, 1912; president Columbia Equal Suffrage Association, 1913; member State Board, 1917-18; active in war work; regent Columbia chapter D. A. R.; speaker Citizenship Schools.

Miss Florence Weigle, St. Louis lawyer; president St. Louis Woman's Suffrage League.

FOREWORD.

BY MRS. EMILY NEWELL BLAIR.

Unique in the history of this or any nation has been the seventy-year campaign waged by the women of America for the right of suffrage. As many women have been engaged, first to last, in this great movement as there have ever been soldiers in any war waged for liberty and justice. When the final roll of workers is called, a mighty army will answer, embracing the forward-looking women of many generations. Since the campaign was started, the geographical arrangement, the political complexion, the industrial organization of the world, has greatly changed. America has grown from a self-contained agricultural community to a great world power, and modern science and invention have changed not only the face of our landscape but the texture of our family and economic life. In nothing have such changes been wrought as in the status of women. When a few valiant souls first presented for consideration the principle that women should be entitled to the same civil and social rights as men, the status of woman everywhere was that of a chattel, at best of a ward. Besides having no political rights, she had few civil rights, no property rights, no parental rights, practically no economic freedom, since professions, trades and business were closed to her.

Today, in professional, industrial and business life, she plays a large and important part, although she is still in many states discriminated against in respect to her property and parental rights. The removal of these discriminations against women and of the limitations to her so-called sphere, may be said to be in large measure, by-products of the campaign waged for her political freedom.

For half a century this campaign has been waged over every state in the union. At last victory seems assured. So far as the electors of Missouri are concerned, the campaign is ended. The Fiftieth General Assembly has not only passed the Presidential Suffrage bill giving to Missouri women the right to vote for Presidential electors, but in a special session, July, 1919, it ratified the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution which declares that the right to vote shall not be denied to anyone because of sex. That this amendment yet waits for the ratification of other state legislatures cannot be charged against Missouri voters. It is fitting, therefore, that the State Historical Society of Missouri should chronicle the part played in this campaign by Missouri men and women, thereby placing this commonwealth first in the nation in presenting a state history of woman's suffrage.

From the first, the objective of this movement was the emancipation of all the women of America. But it was recognized early that there were two ways to this end. One was by amendment to the basic law of the land, the Federal Constitution. The other was by securing one by one amendments to the Constitutions of the various states until the entire forty-eight had acted. Both ways were tried. Thus, at the same time that the Susan B. Anthony amendment was introduced into Congress and congressmen besought to send it to the states for ratification, the state legislatures were urged to take action towards granting the women of their own states full suffrage. The story, therefore, of Missouri's part in this movement includes both the efforts of Missouri women to secure an amendment to the State Constitution and Missouri's share in the passage and the ratification of the Federal amendment.

Missouri women entered this campaign early. They have remained almost until the end. One by one they saw the states west of their own present the ballot to their women, their eastern neighbor give to its women all the franchise in the gift of a state legislature, the state upon the southern boundary admit its women to the legal primaries. But to them came no measure of success. No wonder that there came times when they almost believed the dire prophecy that Missouri would be the last state in the union to recognize its women politically. Yet it was not true. At last their work bore fruit and they proudly beheld Missouri the eleventh state to grant Presidential suffrage to its women and the eleventh state to ratify the Federal Amendment.

Many are the reasons why the history of this campaign is worthy of a place in the annals of the State Historical Society of Missouri. This campaign for civil equality has been the single issue longest before Missouri men; its final victory is an epochal event. Any change in the electorate of a democracy may affect the whole structure of its government. The elevation of almost half the population of a country from a position of political serfdom to that of equal authority, the admission of another sex into party councils and its votes into the ballot box, makes possible, at least, great changes in both parties and government.

The tactics by which this cause won its victory must challenge the interest of all those who believe that tomorrow is built upon today and the type of today's citizenship determines the future welfare of our country. For them this story of the courage displayed by the Missouri women of this generation, their loyalty to their principles, their faith in the ultimate outcome in spite of all set-backs, the ability with which they planned and the skill with which they executed their plans, together with the fair and open methods they employed, has a special value. To those who believe that an acquaintance with the makers of history, as revealed in their estimates of themselves, is necessary to the philosophical writer of history, this autobiography of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association comes as a historical document.

Most valuable of all is this history of the great campaign for political liberty as a practical demonstration of the principles of democracy. In the story of the enactment into law of the ideal of the equality of women, presented away back in 1842 by a few intrepid women to a public to whom it seemed revolutionary, wicked, and designed to ruin home, church and state, we have the perfect example of the way in which minorities, through the exercise of free speech and the courage to stand scorn, become majorities. It is a slow and tedious way. As the ideal passes through the period in which it is feared, in which it is ridiculed, courage is needed and then infinite patience as it gains a hearing and slowly, oh so slowly, gathers the timid, the weak, the slow of thought and dim of vision to its standard. Sometimes those with the far-seeing vision grow a little bitter at the delay but after all, this is a sure and safe way. And when victory at last does come and the ideal is woven into the warp and woof of that country's life it is to the people not a halter forced upon them, nor yet a torch they are made to carry—for a torch may be as great a burden as a hoe if one cares not for light or the road ahead—but something they have built themselves which they love as all creators love their own handiwork.

Last but far from least this stirring incident in the constitutional history of Missouri should be interesting to the heirs of those who won the heritage; the women who will profit from it. They and their daughters' daughters should know the tale of how their political liberty was won. Many of them who have done their part will discover with surprise how long the battle had waged before they came upon the scene. Here they will see the campaign, as it stretches through forty years. They will realize how small and easy has been the part of those who celebrate the victory. Counting their debt, the women who fought and the women who received, to those whose sacrifices made this victory possible they will resolve by their type of citizenship to repay to the uttermost farthing. Yet, as a matter of fact, all these workers, past and present, have reaped their own reward, for to have had even a tiny part in this great cause, to have been lowest among the noble host of women who have dreamed the dream of women standing by their men in the making our democracy an expression of their common ideals is to have tasted the deepest joy that this life can give to the aspiring soul. To have worked for the great ideals of human justice and freedom is, to adapt the words of our great leader, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, to have a spiritual force transforming our lives. Each and every one of Missouri's suffragists should be able to echo these words of the same leader—"Neither the world nor the cause is indebted to me—but from the depth of a full and grateful heart I acknowledge my lasting indebtedness to both."

EARLY BEGINNINGS

BY CHRISTINE ORRICK FORDYCE

(Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce.)

In the history of the early struggle for woman suffrage in Missouri there is nothing so striking as the strength of character and intellect that marked the men and women who had this movement most at heart.

The fact that the Civil War was just over, and that the ideals of self-sacrifice and noble purpose still existed in the hearts of the unusual men and women of that time, counted for much. The fight for the unity of the nation and for the freedom of the colored race had roused people to fever heat, and they were ready to work with fervor for this other cause which meant to them the emancipation of another class—that of women—from the conventions that kept them from self-development and participation in the government.

An interesting phase of this subject is the peace movement that seems to have begun at this time. The women thought, and doubtless some of the men too, that through women's influence in the state, the horrors of war which they had just realized so vividly might be avoided. When Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was in St. Louis in 1872 for one of the suffrage conventions, the daily papers of that date gave an account of a recent visit she had made to London. There she had tried to establish peace societies and had found, much to her surprise, that her meetings were crowded, so she felt that a nucleus had been formed which would result in the calling of a peace congress in the future. She said her appeal was to the women, to the mothers whose sons had been sacrificed in war, to create a public sentiment that would eventually produce a peace congress.

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*Mrs. Fordyce had begun to write a history of suffrage in Missouri before she met her untimely death, April 15, 1919. She had gathered information from data left by her grandmother, Mrs. Beverly Allen, and by Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard. The above is given with slight additions, as she wrote it.

It is a matter of history now that women like Julia Ward Howe, though side by side with sympathetic, splendid men, failed to obtain the right to vote. They were women with the courage of their convictions, as everything they did proved; for we must not forget that in those days it was no pleasant pastime to be a woman suffragist. Most people considered it a crime to believe in women's rights, and those brave women who did were hooted and jeered at in the streets. Just as Susan B. Anthony fought a legal fight to cast her vote in Massachusetts, so did Mrs. Francis Minor in Missouri. Mrs. Minor fought for her right to vote under the XIV and XV Amendments. Mr. Francis Minor, her husband, was her lawyer, and even took the case up to the Supreme Court, but to no avail. However, in spite of their failure to gain suffrage, their work was fruitful in good results. Their many visits to the State Legislature of Missouri resulted in so many good laws for the protection of women that recently one man was led to say that the women of Missouri were better protected than the men.

Still, even if they could not obtain the right to vote in Missouri,indirectly they were responsible for the enfranchisement of the women of Wyoming. Mr. J. A. Campbell, during a winter spent in St. Louis, became, through their influence, an earnest advocate of woman suffrage, and, when he afterward became Governor of Wyoming, he signed the bill, which had been passed half in jest, that gave Wyoming the distinction of being the first state to have equal suffrage for men and women.

An association for suffrage was formed in St. Louis, May 8, 1867. *This was the first organization in the world having for its sole object the political enfranchisement of women.* Most of the early woman's rights societies included other reforms. The first meeting was held in the directors' room at the Mercantile Library; Mrs. Alfred Clapp in the chair, and Mrs. George D. Hall acting as secretary. At the next meeting a constitution was adopted and rooms in the Pickwick Theater building were engaged for headquarters.

In October of that year many notable persons gathered in St. Louis to hold a Woman Suffrage Convention. Susan B. Anthony, destined to become one of the greatest forces in this great movement, and Julia Ward Howe, already famous for her "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and Mary A. Livermore, so well known at that time for her efficient services in the Sanitary Department during the Civil War, were present. It is recorded that there was a large attendance at the opening meeting on the evening of October 7th, and strong arguments in favor of woman's rights were presented by Judge Waite of Chicago, E. W. Decker and Miss Phebe Cozzins of St. Louis, and Marion Cole of Ohio.

At the next session, however, the attendance was small and the time was taken up reading letters from distinguished persons who had sympathized with them and hoped that they would obtain equality before the law. A letter was read from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, heartily approving of the object of the convention and expressing gratification that the cause was making progress on both sides of the Atlantic. One from Wendell Phillips read: "Be sure that my zeal for the negro does not exceed that for women. I have worked in the cause of woman suffrage for thirty years. I yield to none in full conviction, earnest desire, and strenuous, unceasing effort for woman's rights. My whole heart is with you and I join you in fervent wishes for immediate success everywhere."

In addressing this meeting Mrs. Mary A. Livermore said: "I do not care for politics one way or the other. I do not know that we owe anything to the Republican or the Democratic party. This woman suffrage question is not a political party movement but a great moral movement."

Miss Lilly Peckham spoke briefly on the influence of the ballot on woman's work and wages, maintaining "that the proximate cause of woman's insufficient wages is excessive competition in the fields in which women labor; that for an increase of wages there must be an increase of employments; that it is not now fashionable for women to earn their bread, and if they must earn it, they must work in woman's sphere.

The demand for the ballot is not a mere form; it means a new theory of her life; it is an assertion of her own individuality, her own queenship; an assertion that the whole green earth, with its honorable work and pay, is hers."

At a meeting of suffragists, May 26, 1871, to form an organization for St. Louis county, Major Lucien Eaton called the meeting to order, and asked Judge John M. Krum to preside. In his preliminary remarks Judge Krum unqualifiedly endorsed the principle of "votes for women," and said in part:

"We think, too, that we are secure in the enjoyment of life. liberty and the pursuit of happiness because the *ballot*, which is regarded as the safeguard against corruption, wrong and oppression, is in the hands of the people. Granted; and I concede the great power of the ballot. In a representative government it is the great conservative power, and cannot be too highly estimated by any people. But the inquiry springs up, and it addresses itself to us with irresistible force: to whose hands is this power of the ballot entrusted? How happens it that only one-half of our adult population have the privilege of the ballot? Is it because the excluded portion are less intelligent, less patriotic, less virtuous, or that that they have no interests to guard, no stake in the community? I shall not stop to refute what is implied against our countrywomen by the restricted and unjust ballot system now in practice. This restriction, in my humble judgment, is fundamentally wrong."

At this meeting a constitution for the county organization was adopted and permanent officers were elected as follows: president, Wayman Crow; vice-presidents, Jas. E. Yeatman, Francis Minor, Chas. Luedeking, Albert Todd, T. G. C. Davis, Mrs. Alfred Clapp, Mrs. Stephen Ridgley, Mrs. A. C. George, Mrs. Giles F. Filley and Mrs. Rose Tittman; secretary, Miss Mary Beedy; treasurer, Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon.

A national suffrage convention was held in St. Louis November 21, 1872, Lucy Stone presiding. Julia Ward Howe was present. A report of the meeting records: "The audience was distinguished for its intelligence and respectability, and gentility was evident in appearance and bearing. There were about an equal number of men and women."

At that time Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard of Kirkwood, who was prominent in the local suffrage movement, and later was president of the American Suffrage Association, received many letters from distinguished persons pertaining to this convention. Henry Ward Beecher wrote:

"I should be glad to meet you in St. Louis, and to add my testimony to that of the noble band who, after so long a conflict for another step in the advance of humanity, *seems on the eve of seeing their wishes fulfilled.*"

Gerritt Smith wrote at the same time: "Let woman be of good cheer. She will not have to wait for the ballot much longer."

J. A. Campbell, the Governor of Wyoming who had signed the first bill to enfranchise any group of women in the United States, wrote: "There are palpable evidences of the growth of your ideas, so plain that all who run may read, appreciable to sceptics and believers alike. There are other signs of 'triumph in the air,' which will occur to you, but which I have not time to enumerate, the admission of women to the pulpit, to the bar, the jury box, the editorial chair and other wider fields of usefulness and honor which have been so long virtually closed to her. Courage, then! Your ultimate triumph is assured. A work so nobly begun is already more than half accomplished."

The Unitarian Church of St. Louis, Dr. D. M. Eliot, pastor, was the center of much of the advanced thinking of that time; and Dr. Nicchols, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, was among the leaders. Mrs. Beverly Allen and her three daughters, Mrs. George D. Hall, Mrs. John C. Orrick and Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon, were members of the first organization. Others among the early suffragists were Miss Phebe Cozzins, a bright and beautiful woman, and Mrs. Elizabeth Avery Merriweather. However, Mrs. Virginia L. Minor must always be recognized as one of the most progressive and courageous in that pioneer band.

At the November election of 1872 in St. Louis Mrs. Minor offered her vote under the XIV Amendment to the Federal Constitution which provides that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Mr. Francis Minor, her husband and an eminent lawyer, believed that this amendment entitled women to vote. Nevertheless, her vote was refused, and she brought suit against the inspector for the purpose of making a test case. After an adverse decision by the lower courts, the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and argued before that tribunal by Mr. Minor. It is not too much to say that no constitutional lawyer in the country could have improved upon his argument in its array of authority, its keen logic and its impressive plea for justice. The decision was delivered March 29, 1875, and was adverse. This put an end to the hope of women obtaining national suffrage without a new amendment to the Federal Constitution.

From 1870, Missouri women went to the State Legislature every session petitioning for suffrage. An account of one of these ventures, dated March 7, 1870, and entitled "Lively Times," reads as follows:

"At the House of Representatives tonight an immense number of ladies and gentlemen had congregated, and the seats were well filled by members. Ladies filled the lobby seats and the men stood in the aisles.

"Mr. Davis, of Andrew, one of the silent members, felt his spirit move on this subject, and asserted that there was nothing in the Bible against woman's voting in the State of Missouri or in the United States. He was opposed to indefinite postponement and in favor of submitting the question to the people.

"Mr. Baker, of Schuyler, next advocated the measure and opposed indefinite postponement. Mr. Baker is the talking kind, and talked exceedingly well in support of the suffrage idea.

"Mr. Leeper, of Wayne, a nice man with very gray hair and whiskers of altogether a blacker hue than they presented on Saturday, was in favor of woman, but opposed to giving her the ballot because she was woman and his friend. As an illustration he said that it was an insult to the rest of the hens for one to attempt to crow—crowing belonged to the roosters.

"Mr. Bennett, of Perry, read a paper in support of woman's rights, drawing his conclusions from the Declaration of Independence.

"Mr. McMichael, of Clinton, also read a paper but it was in opposition to woman suffrage. He would prefer bearing 'the ills he had rather than fly to those he knew not of.'

"Mr. Lawson, of Carter, ancient as to years but of a progressive turn of mind, proposed to elevate the political arena from the 'whirlpool of degradation' by putting into it the lantern of woman suffrage. It was the cardinal hope, the sheet-anchor of security."

Another account of proceedings before the Legislature was published in the Woman's Journal in 1879: It follows:

"The readers of the Woman's Journal will be interested to hear the result of a recent visit of a delegation from the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association to the Legislature. We knew but one member of the Legislature who favored our cause. To this one we sent our memorial. Time was when our friend in the Legislature could with difficulty get our memorials referred to the proper committees. Motions would be made to refer them to the Committee on 'Swamp Lands,' or to that on 'Lunatic Asylums,' but this was referred without a word to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, composed of seven members, who voted unanimously to give our delegation a hearing whenever we should desire.

"The afternoon of Thursday the 20th inst., was fixed for the purpose. The delegation was received with great courtesy by Judge Dryden, chairman of the committee. A number of spectators had dropped in, attracted by interest or curiosity.

"Mrs. Hazard first addressed the committee on behalf of the delegation. She said: 'In presenting this petition we beg to assure you that we do so with earnest convictions that what we seek is right. Year after year our plea has come up before the law-making power of Missouri, with small success indeed, but with a persistency that ought to convince our countrymen that we are in earnest. Both God and man are pledged to aid those who persevere in a good undertaking. We are sure, therefore, of final success. Ten years ago we came here asking for women in the land of freedom the small boon of citizenship. Our request, which was just and reasonable, should have been granted then. It is equally just and reasonable now, and no time should be lost in making amends for the injustice of the long delay.'

"Mrs. Hazard also said: 'To those who view the question from our standpoint, it is surprising that it should be a question at all. That American women, taking in the breath of freedom from their cradles, proud of their flag, familiar with the history and constitution of a government which guarantees liberty and equality to all, should desire to participate in the duties and privileges of their government seemed almost natural, and that they should be denied these privileges is a surprising paradox in the history of American history.'

"Mrs. A. E. Dickinson followed, stating many objections which are commonly offered against the enfranchisement of women, and then setting them aside by clear and effective argument. She maintained that the influence of woman was needed on our State Board of Charities, in our prisons, and on our school boards. She spoke of the excellent workings of the woman's prison at Indianapolis.

"Mrs. H. E. Starrett, in rising to address the committee, said she never attempted to convince those who were opposed to woman suffrage without some hesitation, remembering how long she herself had doubted before embracing the doctrine. Here Judge Dryden politely interrupted her saying he begged that she would not assume that the committee were opposed to woman suffrage. She proceeded to show the methods by which she had become convinced that woman must be a political equal in the higher civilization of all nations. Much has been said about immigrant wagons passing through Missouri to Kansas. She thought the fact that Kansas was dotted with schoolhouses, and that women vote on educational matters in that state, might explain the matter. This statement was greeted with applause by the spectators.

"At the conclusion of the hearing Judge Dryden assured the ladies that the matter would have the most earnest consideration of the committee. It was suggested by someone present that a bill should be prepared as the committee could not act upon a memorial. Three gentlemen from among the spectators, all lawyers, came forward and volunteered to draft the bill at once. One of them was the son of Judge Dryden, a manly young fellow, who said he was not ashamed to say he was in favor of woman suffrage. Another, Hon. J. C. McGinness, was one of our strongest opponents ten years ago. He alluded to his opposition then, and said he had changed his mind. The third gentleman, Col. Bland, has long been an advocate of our cause. A somewhat singular fact is that each of these gentlemen held a different political faith: they represented the Democratic, Republican and Greenback parties.

"The delegation had asked for the use of the Hall of Representatives for the evening of the 20th. Mr. Henry T. Mudd, who with Judge Dryden had kindly consented to procure the favor, assured us that the hall would be tendered but we need not expect an audience, as the very best lecturer this winter had failed to draw an audience of more than 20 or 30 people. Judge of our surprise then, upon arriving at an early hour, to find the large hall filled. Mrs. Starrett delivered her well-known lecture: 'What shall we do with our daughters?' Mrs. A. E. Dickinson followed with a stirring appeal for woman suffrage. Both ladies were received with an appreciation bordering on enthusiasm.

"After the meeting the members crowded about them with kind words and congratulations. The members who had aided us said such an audience had not been seen in Jefferson City this winter. The next morning our bill, asking for a constitutional amendment granting suffrage to the women of Missouri, was offered in the House by a member who we were told was a leader of the Democratic party. This gentleman had been present at the hearing though not a member of the committee. He afterward said to me: 'Though perhaps not altogether converted, I'll say that the arguments are all on your side.'

"Some of our friends think the bill will pass. If so, we shall rejoice heartily. But in any event we shall remember with pleasure this visit to the Missouri Legislature."

Of course the bill did not pass. During the forty years between 1879 and 1919 suffragists learned to their sorrow that senators and representatives, session after session of them, particularly enjoyed dashing to the ground any hopes for suffrage bills which in their desire to be pleasant as individuals they might have raised. Yet, throughout the decade that followed 1879, the same faithful band of brave pioneers carried their petitions to Jefferson City every odd-numbered year.

On February 8, 9, 1892, an interstate woman suffrage convention was held in Kansas City, Mrs. Laura M. Johns, president of the Kansas association in the chair. Mrs. Minor Mrs. Beverly Allen and Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard were made honorary presidents and Mrs. Virginia Hedges was elected president. Addresses were given by Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Mary Seymour Howell of New York, and Miss Florence Balgarnie of England. A club was formed in Kansas City with Mrs. Sarah Chandler Coates as president.

During the next few years the state association co-operated with other societies in public and legislative work. Mrs. Minor passed away in 1894, an irreparable loss to the cause of woman suffrage.

In May, 1895, the Mississippi Valley Congress was called at St. Louis under the auspices of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and various other organizations participated. Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw, president and vice-president-at-large of the National Association, stopped on their way to California and made addresses. Just before

Miss Anthony began her address, seventy-five children, some of them colored, passed before her and each laid a rose in her lap, in honor of her seventy-five years.

The preceding spring the National Association had sent Mrs. Anna R. Simmons of South Dakota into Missouri to lecture for two months and reunite the scattered forces. A State Suffrage Convention followed the congress and Mrs. Addie M. Johnson was elected president. At its close a banquet was given in the Mercantile Club, with Miss Anthony as the great guest of honor. A local society of nearly 100 members was formed in St. Louis.

On June 15, 16, 1896, the annual convention took place in St. Louis with delegates from seventeen clubs. Addresses were made by Mrs. Carrie Catt, chairman of the national organization committee, Henry B. Blackwell, editor of the Woman's Journal, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado, and others who were in the city trying to obtain some recognition for women from the National Republican Convention. Miss Ella Harrison was elected president. Public meetings were called for November 12, 13, in Kansas City because it was then possible to have the presence of Miss Anthony, Miss Shaw and Mrs. Catt on their return from the suffrage amendment campaign in California.

In January, 1897, Mrs. Bradford spent three weeks lecturing in the state and the president devoted a month to this purpose during the autumn. The annual meeting convened in Bethany, Dec. 7-9, Mrs. Johns and Mrs. Hoffman being the principal speakers.

The convention of 1898 was held in St. Joseph, Oct. 17-19, with Miss Anthony and Mrs. Catt in attendance.

In the fall of 1899 a series of conferences, planned by the national organization committee, was held in twenty counties, which was managed by Mrs. Addie M. Johnson and Miss Ella Moffatt and addressed by Miss Lena Morrow of Illinois and Mrs. Mary Waldo Calkins. These ended with a state convention in Chillicothe in October.

In 1900 the annual meeting was held in St. Joseph, and in 1901 in Kansas City with sixteen counties represented.

But from that time on enthusiasm for equal suffrage was on the wane in Missouri. Miss Louise L. Werth and Mrs. Alice C. Mulkey were, in the order named, presidents of the State Association, but there were no conventions held, and the small number of suffragists who remained faithful devoted their time to encouraging good legislation.

"MIDDLE AGES" OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN MISSOURI.

BY FLORENCE ATKINSON

(Mrs. Robert Atkinson.)

The history of equal suffrage in Missouri may be divided into four periods: The Dark Ages, Middle Ages, Renaissance and Modern Times. The history of the Dark Ages has been written; and, compared with the struggle of the early workers to lighten the darkness, the second period is less interesting. The situation at first was at least dramatic. The women of the Dark Ages were starting a revolution, and Missouri dignified their uprising by bitter opposition. When the women of the second period entered the field, the tumult and the shouting had ceased, and this generation found themselves confronted by that deadliest of attitudes, utter indifference. Equal Suffrage was a dead issue.

But dark as it looked, there were smouldering embers of interest in the hearts of a small group of women who had either inherited suffrage ideas from their pioneer mothers or who had been born with ideas of their own about the principles of the cause. Suddenly there was an awakening and the embers began to glow. The fire that had broken out in England had reached America, and had spread far enough inland to fan even Missouri embers into a faint flame.

The suffragists of the second period had no information upon which to build. The first society was only a memory, and the later women required an entirely new impetus to make them attempt to form a second organization. That impetus came in 1910 when the great suffragette leader Emmelin Pankhurst was making her first tour in America. Mrs. Pankhurst's visit had one good result if no more, for out of an effort on the part of a few women to bring her to this city, the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League was organized. By chance, members of the Wednesday Club were deploring the fact that Mrs. Pankhurst had not been invited to come as far west as St. Louis. They spoke of their great desire to hear about the uprising of women in England at first hand, and decided to find out if there might be others who shared this desire and who would unite with them in trying to give the distinguished lecturer a hearing.

The word "Suffragette" was not even whispered in polite society at that time, and it was like throwing a bomb in conservative St. Louis to repeat the new slogan "Votes for Women!" Nevertheless, ten brave souls agreed to meet and make preparations for the dangerous undertaking. They were Mrs. Robert Atkinson, Miss Marie Garesche, Mrs. E. M. Grossman, Miss Lillian Hetzell, Miss Jennie A. M. Jones, Mrs. D. W. Knefler, Miss Bertha Rombauer, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Florence Wyman Richardson and her daughter, now Mrs. Roland Usher.

The meeting place was in the parlor of Miss Marie Garesche, one of the ten, and it is amusing now to recall the solemnity of that occasion. The women felt something of the responsibility that the historic group in Seneca Falls experienced when they made their famous call for the first Woman's Rights Convention. Like conspirators, they knew that they must hang together or hang separately. They were even startled when they heard a knock at the door; at any rate they were relieved when their hostess opened it and found only a friend standing there who had come to return a borrowed book. The hostess herself could not have been very timid for she called out cheerfully "Won't you come in? We are holding a Suffrage meeting!" The horrified visitor backed away from the door exclaiming, "A Suffrage meeting! Oh dear me, *No!*" After due consideration it was unanimously decided to ask Mrs. Pankhurst to give a lecture in St. Louis on a certain date, and lest their courage should fail them the venturesome women telegraphed the message before they separated. However, sad to relate, after all this bravery the whole undertaking failed. Mrs. Pankhurst accepted the invitation, but just as all the arrangements for her visit were progressing smoothly, she was called back to England and was compelled to cancel her engagement.

This was a great disappointment, but strange as it may appear, out of this seeming failure grew great results. In advertising the lecture the women who had made the attempt found that they were not alone in this wish to know more about the great woman's movement that was beginning to stir the world, nor were they alone in being friendly to the cause. Suffrage sentiment was discovered in unexpected places, and it was decided to test the strength of the feeling.

A call was sent out asking all who were interested in equal suffrage to meet on a certain day to consider the advisability of organizing a society. Fifty women responded to the call, and on April 10th, 1910, this number met and united in forming the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, when one of the ten charter members, Mrs. Florence Wyman Richardson, was elected president. The League began at once to try to increase its membership. The new list was not made up entirely of women's names, for among the first to enroll were prominent ministers of different denominations, leading lawyers, physicians, and business men of the city. The organizers of the club felt that much of their success was due to the advice that these men friends of Suffrage had given them. The object of the League was stated in the simple article of agreement, "To bring together men and women who are willing to consider the question of Equal Suffrage and by earnest co-operation to secure its establishment." To quiet the fears of any timid souls who might be expecting "agitation," it was clearly explained that the purpose of the club was entirely educational.

Activities were started by bringing prominent suffrage speakers to the city who could call out large audiences and attract press reports. The list included Miss Ethel Arnold and the Honorable and Mrs. Philip Snowden of England, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston, Prof. Schmidt of Cornell, Prof. Frances Squire Potter of Chicago, and Prof. Earl Barnes of Philadelphia, while other woman's organizations in the city gave opportunity to hear Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Agnes Repplier. Later on Mrs. Pankhurst was heard. Branch organizations were established in the different public library centers of the city, all following the educational lines of the parent society, and at the annual meeting held at the close of the first year, the League reported a membership of 250 men and women, and a record of hard work with good results.

In the meantime, other clubs were being formed in other parts of Missouri. Following a lecture by Sylvia Pankhurst, Kansas City organized a Suffrage League with seventy members and Mrs. Henry Ess for its president. Warrensburg was next in order with a club of fifty members and Miss Laura Runyon, president. This club was the means of an untold amount of suffrage propaganda through the pupils of the State Normal School in Warrensburg. These pupils carried suffrage gospel to all parts of the state. A third club was formed in Webster Groves with 25 members, when Mrs. Lee Rosborough was elected president. Missouri now had three clubs, the requisite number for uniting with the National Association.

In the spring of 1911 a convention of the three clubs was called, and the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association was formally organized. A constitution was adopted, State officers were elected with Mrs. Robert Atkinson of St. Louis president. The state was divided into nine districts to correspond to the districts into which the Missouri Federation of Woman's Clubs was divided.

The Association was at first little more than a name, but that name was at once honored and brought into notice by having its vice-president-at-large, Mrs. Bernice Morrison Fuller, appointed a delegate to the International Suffrage Convention that was to be held in Stockholm the following spring. A further recognition of the state organization was given when its three delegates, Mrs. Robert Atkinson, Mrs. W. W. Boyd and Mrs. John Lowes were sent to the Convention of the National Association that was held in Louisville, Kentucky. There was great rejoicing among the members of the convention that Missouri had really come into the fold.

There were many capable and willing speakers in the new organization, but lack of funds prevented much traveling and state propaganda was largely confined to the distribution of literature, correspondence, and the co-operation which the press and public libraries could give. As many newspapers as possible were secured to use the National Press Bureau reports, and this part of the work was for some time under the able direction of the state corresponding secretary, Mrs. W. W. Boyd.

After a year of faithful service Mrs. Florence Richardson resigned from the office of president of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League and was succeeded by Mrs. David O'Neil. A year later a change was made in the state organization. In September, 1912, a State Convention was held in Sedalia when, upon the resignation of Mrs. Robert Atkinson, Mrs. George Gellhorn was elected state president.

During the three years of this second period of suffrage in Missouri, the clubs of the state had exhausted every means of attracting attention to the cause. All the great speakers had been heard, and in St. Louis plays had been acted, teas and other functions had been given, and women old and young had made speeches in every public or private place where they could find admittance. A Business Woman's League was formed which started business on the very day of its birth. It laid siege to a Milliner's Convention that was meeting in St. Louis and supplied the visiting delegates with suffrage ideas as well as hats to distribute through all the towns of Missouri. St. Louis women held street meetings, and once out in the open, they visited the County Fair in a body, and made stirring speeches from gaily decorated automobiles.

At the opening of the year 1913, the state had eleven clubs, and many were in the act of organizing. Three of the clubs were in St. Louis, the others in Kansas City, Warrensburg, Sedalia, Springfield, Clayton, Webster Groves, Joplin, Carthage and St. Joseph; Columbia had two clubs, one of which had for its president an ex-president of the State University.

That public opinion had changed was indicated by the fact that many organizations such as the Farmers' Alliance, State Teachers' Association, Prohibitionists and Single Taxers were seeking co-operation with, and actually working for the cause of Equal Suffrage. The leading papers of St. Louis and Kansas City were giving material support with their columns of news, editorials and telling cartoons. There were also several weekly papers advocating suffrage.

The most important public recognition came in the form of a proposition by the managers of a Merchants and Manufacturers Street Exposition to assist the Suffragists in conducting a street parade. The proposition was eagerly accepted. It was the one thing that the St. Louis women had been trying to get strength enough to undertake. The 30th of September was the time set for the parade, and all the suffrage sympathizers of St. Louis were called on to make it a gala day. On this eventful occasion thirty automobiles were in line. An auto truck led the procession carrying a band playing patriotic airs. Another car followed bearing the purple banner of the Missouri Suffrage League which had been used in the New York parade. Next in order came the reception committee of the merchants, and these men were followed by the long line of automobiles filled with members of the Suffrage societies. From all the machines waved bright yellow pennants, which had on them in big black letters the slogan "Votes for Women!"

As the procession passed through the down-town streets, the crowds on the pavement looked on in respectful silence. Occasionally a hat was raised in greeting or handkerchiefs were waved from shop windows, but not a jeering word was heard. The women who were taking part in the procession may have been a trifle disappointed in not being called upon to show their courage on the contrary, they seemed to be doing only a natural and pleasant thing in thus proclaiming their faith to the world. After passing through a number of streets, the parade disbanded. Then came the real event. The women left their protecting cars, formed in line and actually marched in the middle of the street behind a band.

The climax of the performance was reached when they arrived at the headquarters that had been prepared for them on Franklin Avenue. There two or three women mounted soap boxes and made speeches to the crowds that had come to see the Fair. To their honor be it stated that six men were seen riding with their wives and daughters in the procession. While the women were more than gratified at this show of interest in the cause for which they were struggling, there is one name that will go down in Suffrage history. At the very end of the little company one man walked all alone closing up the line of march. That man's name is George Blackman.

The leaders of the Middle Ages of Suffrage history left no brilliant record, but they succeeded in carrying out the purpose with which they had started. They aroused the people of Missouri out of their state of apathy, attracted their attention, and to a certain extent educated them in the principles of the woman's cause. Their work was a preparation for the generation that was to follow.

This generation started with the spirit of the Renaissance and at once laid their plans for more definite action. They decided that the time had come to open a state-wide campaign, to make an appeal to the legislature to add Missouri to the ten other states that had enfranchised their women. A finance committee was appointed to raise funds to carry on this great undertaking. For this purpose a luncheon was given when amid great enthusiasm personal pledges were given. totaling one thousand dollars which sum was turned over to the treasurer, Mrs. B. B. Graham. Equal Suffrage headquarters were established in the Syndicate Trust Building in St. Louis where the campaign manager, Mrs. D. W. Knefler with able assistants was in charge.

That Missouri had really started a campaign was an epoch that called for an impressive announcement. This announcement was made by what the Clubs called "Suffrage

Day." Fola La Follette was imported for the occasion, and this brilliant lecturer opened the program by addressing a large evening audience. While she spoke again the following day at the Men's City Club, other local speakers were talking between acts at the different theatres of the city. The streets were brilliant with pennants, waving from automobiles and trucks, teas were given in private houses and public halls, and before the day was over St. Louis had learned the latest slogan—"Suffrage in Missouri in 1914."

The result of this campaign, like the others that followed belonged to the fourth period of Equal Suffrage in Missouri. That may be called the history of Modern Times, and one who helped to make that history will be the historian.

THE PART OF THE ST. LOUIS EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

BY ALTHEA SOMERVILLE GROSSMAN

(Mrs. E. M. Grossman.)

The St. Louis Suffrage Organization, formed in 1910, had grown by 1911 until it had two subsidiary groups, one called Crunden Center under the chairmanship of Miss Cecilia Razovsky, and one called the Barr Center with Mrs. Atlanta Hecker as chairman. Mrs. David N. O'Neil was the president of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, which held monthly meetings at the Cabanne Branch Library to which the Crunden Center and Barr Center sent representatives.

In 1911 the St. Louis Organization, together with what suffrage strength existed in the state backed a Constitutional Amendment, introduced into the State Legislature of that year. This resolution was very carefully drawn, the best legal service existing in the state was given us gratis, but when we have acknowledged the strength of this measure, in the eyes of the law, we have described all the strength it had. I look back in astonishment at our surprise because the measure died in the Senate Committee. So far as St. Louis went our suffrage league's membership was so small that in publishing our year book we printed our list of members, and it was a very short list! The importance of this measure was that it formed, after many sleeping years, the rebirth of political activity to obtain the franchise for Missouri, and following its failure women began a systematic campaign for signers to a petition to the Legislature to submit an amendment to popular vote under the Initiative and Referendum law. In this same year the first suffrage league headquarters were opened in St. Louis. The first parade took place during this year, and the first street speaking was done.

Be it said to the credit of the suffrage movement in St. Louis, that even in those days of small numbers, it had in its membership leaders of the Trade Union movement among the women, the leaders of the society debutantes and many from all the groups between. Mrs. D. W. Knefler, who was the treasurer, and later the executive secretary of the League, was president of the St. Louis Woman's Trade Union League. Miss Ann Drew, now Mrs. Herbert Platt, was the president of the Junior Equal Suffrage League and was the leader of the debutantes of that year. Miss Jessie Lansing Moller was the able and eloquent president of the Business Woman's Equal Suffrage League.

After a great deal of hard work, we secured 6,000 signatures from St. Louis petitioning the 1913 General Assembly to submit to the voters of the state the question of the political enfranchisement of women. We did not think that we were strong enough to ask the Legislature to enact a suffrage law, but we did think that a petition signed by a large number of their constituents simply asking them to submit to the voters of the state the question of political enfranchisement of women might pass. We wrote to the members of the Legislature telling them that their support of this resolution would not mean that they favored suffrage or would it bind them in any fashion to vote for the same at the general election in 1914. Following this letter we received a few favorable replies, but most of the politicians in those days would answer, saying that the matter would receive their consideration, or more commonly still, they would not answer at all. Nevertheless 6,000 names from St. Louis and 14,000 all together from the state seemed like an over-powering number of names to use and we were certain of favorable action.

During the second week of the session the resolution was introduced in the House by Mr. Roney of Jasper county, and in the Senate by Senator Craig of Nodaway. It was, of course, referred to the respective House and Senate Committees on Constitutional Amendments and a joint hearing for both House and Senate Committees was set for February 6th. An unbelievable number of women from all over the state appeared before these committees. The result was a unanimous and enthusiastic report from the Senate Committee and just one vote against a favorable report from the House Committee. Only a week later this resolution was engrossed in both houses. In the Senate there were five dissenting votes, in the House the "ayes" were overwhelming. According to regular routine the suffrage measure was now ready to be passed or killed. For about a month the suffrage resolution rested quietly, moving a little closer to the top of the calendar each day. Then on the 13th of March the motion was made that the Senate reconsider its action of weeks before in endorsing the suffrage resolution. This motion carried. It was then moved that the resolution be sent back to the Committee. There was then only one week of the Legislative session left. Those of us who were in Jefferson City returned home a sadder, but wiser crowd.

Immediately after our defeat the suffragist exhibited a trait of character that has remained by them all these years and instead of maligning our enemies we gathered together around our St. Louis president, Mrs. David N. O'Neil, and our state president, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, outside the Senate Chamber and made immediate plans for collecting 23,000 names on Initiative petitions to submit to the people in 1914 the question of woman suffrage.

During that summer of 1913 a good deal of work was done in St. Louis, the newspapers for the first time giving us regular space and, although suffrage press work often had to be camouflaged and sandwiched in between recipes and fashions, nevertheless, through constant efforts of Miss Clara

Somerville, the question of suffrage in general and our Initiative Petitions in particular were kept before the public.

In October of that fall Mrs. John Livingston Lowes was elected president of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League. Mrs. O'Neil had given up the presidency from sheer exhaustion and by January of 1914 Mrs. Lowes had impaired her health and asked for a leave of absence from the duties of president. At the time of Mrs. Lowes' election as president, Miss Florence Wyman Richardson, now Mrs. Roland Usher, was elected secretary and Mrs. Geo. Gellhorn held her accustomed position as chairman of finance.

One of the very most difficult tasks that we had was to secure sufficient funds to keep our organization alive. The minutes of October 9th, 1913, show a report by the treasurer, Miss Leona Robinson, now Mrs. Herbert Morgan, of a balance of $1.26. The dues in those days were 50c and yet much more than 50c worth of energy was spent in collecting each membership fee. Beside the question of money raising, we were then discussing at each meeting reports of progress in different Congressional Districts of the state and often Mrs. Walter McNab Miller would be in the city and would give us her reports of the constantly increasing suffrage sentiment over the state. It was about this time that we had our first suffrage booth at a show, at the "Made in St. Louis Show" at the Coliseum, and we were vastly pleased to be recognized as an element of the public life of the city.

Our down-town office work was mostly done by volunteers. We discussed often whether or not we could afford one-half time of a stenographer. On October 27th, 1913, the treasurer's report showed a balance of 6c and a motion made by Mrs. E. W. Stix at that same meeting ran to the effect that "we accept Mr. O'Dell's offer to speak and get a hall for nothing." By December of that year we had gathered 6,000 names and the subject constantly up for discussion was whether or not we should ally ourselves with either of the political parties. Several of our hardest working members left the organization when it was decided that we would adopt a non-partisan policy.

Early in 1914 there began to be serious discussion as to whether or not we were ready for ward and precinct organization. During this period we grew very rapidly. The reports of the treasurer showed a much bigger income than formerly and an equally unusual outgo and a deficit for the first time in our history. Another material indication of our increasing size was found in the fact that in February of that year we took up to the Secretary of State at Jefferson City from St. Louis, petitions signed by 10,000 St. Louisans in the needed district apportionment. Only 8,000 names were necessary, but with great labor we had secured 2,000 additional. From then on until the vote on November 3rd we campaigned for "Suffrage for Missouri in 1914." In the spring of that year the *Times* newspaper gave us a special edition entirely devoted to suffrage news and propaganda. All of us worked hard for that edition.

At the same time there was a great deal of work being done by the National Suffrage Organization toward the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. May 2nd was set as National Suffrage Day and 1,000 cities and towns over the United States passed a resolution to be sent to President Wilson and Congress to pass the Federal Amendment. We had a big parade with speeches at the four corners of the Court House, and in front of the Jefferson Memorial. Mrs. W. W. Boyd, Jr., was the manager of this celebration, and for the first time moving pictures were made of the suffragists. A little later on in that same year Inez Milholland Boissevain, the "Suffrage Beauty," who later gave up her life to the cause came to St. Louis and made street speeches and had an Odeon meeting—from which we derived a profit—to help us in our campaign.

We were being constantly urged on by Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce to make every effort to organize St. Louis on a ward and precinct basis and a list of the ward chairmen for that June shows what Mrs. Fordyce's hard work had accomplished. We were beginning to make progress. One fine indication of our progress was the formation of a Men's League that fall, and also the fact that the National Association thought that we were sufficiently important to spare to St. Louis and Missouri for three days the wonderful eloquence of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. By the month previous to the election we had gathered sufficient money and strength to open ground headquarters which were located on the southeast corner of 8th and Locust streets. We tacked across the windows of our headquarters big yellow streamers having printed on them in bold black letters the command "Vote for Constitutional Amendment No. 13." Ours looked like a very busy place with Miss Charlotte Rumbold, director of publicity department, Miss Genevieve Tierney, assisted by Mrs. R. L. Sanford, in charge of the business end of the campaign, and Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing in charge of the speakers' bureau. This was in the early days of the European war and in order to prevent a slump in the cotton market the slogan of "Buy a Bale" was adopted, and we suffragists as always taking advantage of our opportunity, bought a bale and used it to speak from in front of our headquarters.

Then on November 3rd came the vote at the polls when the suffrage amendment in common with all the rest of the amendments before the people went down to defeat.

Less than two weeks afterwards the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League held a business meeting at which, instead of bemoaning our fate, we rejoiced at the large results we had obtained from the small expenditure of money and superhuman expenditure of energy. The first part of the question of "Shall we go on and how?" was answered by an unanimous "yes." The second part produced discussion with this result, determination to keep the organization alive and to promote to the utmost ward organization before another campaign. We determined further to put the work on a paying basis in place of begging funds, and seriously discussed the establishment of a lunch-room. In spite of our courage, suffrage reached very low ebb in December of 1914. The office was closed and our files were stored at the home of Mrs. R. L. Sandford. But the persistent idea of Mrs. Fordyce that ward and precinct organization must go on gained ground. We heard of

"Flying Squadrons" being used elsewhere and we tried that plan. We would gather together at some meeting place a number of ardent suffrage workers, sometimes in automobiles sometimes on foot, and we would drive or walk off in groups to cover by house-to-house canvass a certain territory. We did not have strength enough just to use the suffragists in their own neighborhoods, and so adopted this scheme of importing workers into certain districts.

As the belief became fixed that a membership from all parts of the city was necessary to success, there grew up naturally the plan to reorganize the League along political lines. So in the spring of 1916 the Board of Governors was abolished, and, in its place, there was elected a City Central Committee of twenty-eight and a few others who were chairmen of standing committees appointed by the chair. At the time of this reorganization Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce was unanimously elected chairman.

Still greater suffrage activity grew up with the prospect of the meeting of the Democratic National Convention in St. Louis in June, 1916, and with the plan of the National Suffrage Association to try to get a suffrage plank into the National Democratic platform. Many very clever schemes to impress the Democratic delegates were thought of and carried out. A huge demonstration, called the Golden Lane, was staged along ten blocks of Locust Street between the Jefferson Hotel and the Coliseum from 10 A. M. till noon on June 14th, the opening day of the Democratic Convention. For weeks, and even months before, the suffragists enlisted recruits for this "Walkless, talkless parade." "One woman in line is worth ten petitions in the waste-basket," was one plea. And there were about 7,000 women in line, all holding yellow parasols and in white dresses with yellow streamers or sashes for decoration. The line was double, the front row sitting, the back row standing, and an exchange of positions prevented over-fatigue. To quote from a poem appearing in the press the next morning:

"Citizen and Democrat
Marching down the Golden Lane,
Marching out to nominate
Wilson for a candidate.
How the Democrats did hate
Marching down the Golden Lane.

"Silence! My, but it did talk
Marching down the Golden Lane.
Fast the delegates did walk,
Marching down the Golden Lane!
But they couldn't get away
From the "Women's Votes" display.

They'll all recall for many a day
Marching down the Golden Lane."

Another appeal to the Democrats was made from the steps of the old Art Museum, 18th and Locust streets. A striking tableau, called "Up to Liberty" was staged there continuously for two impressive hours. Miss Virginia Stevenson managed this tableau, and it was beautiful and impressive to a degree. Under a canopy of gold cloth there stood at the top of the steps "Liberty," posed by Mrs. David N. O'Neil. Ranged about her were thirteen women dressed in white representing the twelve enfranchised states and Alaska. Farther down the steps were the states in which only partial franchise had been granted, impersonated by women dressed in gray. And manacled figures in black representing the states in which women were wholly unenfranchised, extended their chained arms in supplication to Liberty, As the Democratic delegates passed by these women would shake the golden chains on their arms outstretched to "Liberty." That same night there was street speaking for two hours on about every prominent downtown corner. They were wonderfully enthusiastic crowds and wonderfully enthusiastic speakers.

The result?

A suffrage plank—but so general and vague and noncommittal that no one of the ardent, clear-headed women thought that it really promised anything.

The next year, 1917, the suffragists had introduced in the Legislature a bill to grant Presidential suffrage to the women of Missouri. Again success in the House was gained only to be followed by defeat in the Senate. Two special incidents of that year were the speech of Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce, our St. Louis president, at the Legislature, and the song "Old Black Mo." that sprang from the ashes of our defeat into great popularity. Mrs. Fordyce said in part:

"Gentlemen, fifty years ago my grandmother came before the Missouri Legislature and asked for the enfranchisement of women; twenty-five years ago my mother came to make the same request; tonight I am asking for the ballot for women. Are you going to make it necessary for my daughter to appear in her turn?"

The song ran:

OLD BLACK MO.

(WITH APOLOGIES TO THE SHADE OF STEPHENS FOSTER.)

Dark are the days, tho' they hadn't ought to be,
Suffrage is coming and coming rapidly;
The map is growin' white, the East begins to glow,
But on this map we still are seeing Old Black Mo.

Chorus:
It's coming! It's coming! See how the white spots grow!
We hear our happy sisters calling Old Black Mo.

That's why we weep and our hearts are full of pain.
Cold-hearted politicians have knocked us out again.
The Federal Amendment is so infernal slow
And on the map we still are seeing Old Black Mo.

Chorus:
It's coming! etc.

When two years pass, once more we'll try it on.
Some who opposed us will certainly be gone.
We'll be good and ready and then perhaps we'll show
A spot of white instead of Old Black Mo.

Chorus:

Then in April came the United States entrance into the world war. At a business meeting held April 10, the League passed this resolution: "That the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League offer its services to the Federal Food Board to assist in every way the regulation of the retail prices of food." Before sending off to Washington this telegram telling of our desire to co-operate, there was discussion as to what was this Federal Food Board and how should we address our telegram. One member remembered newspaper mention of a Mr. Hoover—whose name had not yet become famous—and off went our telegram to him.

On April 22, 1917, Mrs. Ernest W. Stix was elected chairman, and her task was the extremely difficult one of keeping alive the suffrage organization in spite of the general feeling that one should forget everything except the war. We were confirmed in our position that the enfranchisement of women was part of the fundamental principle of democracy, and that to fight consistently for democracy abroad, we must fight for it at home. We were confirmed in this tenet by the declaration for woman suffrage by England, Canada and Russia, and in the United States by the enfranchisement of women in New York, the state greatest in population, and in Texas, the state greatest in area.

The St. Louis League's Year Book for 1917-1918 lists first the activities of the League, "For the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment," and then there follows another list headed "Other War Work and Government Service." This second list makes evident the leading part in all war work that was taken by the Suffrage organization; briefly and in part: Large assistance in Liberty Loan drives; sales of War Savings Stamps; service and gift of coffee-service-machine to Soldiers and Sailors Club; maintenance of Red Cross and Knitting Units; volunteer stenographic service for the 14th District Exemption Board; funds raised for Women's Overseas Hospital; and great assistance through our ward organizations in food conservation work.

Moreover, the energy of the suffrage workers, aside from their participation in direct war work, was largely expended in urging in every possible way the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. This policy of working for federal instead of state suffrage was instituted by the National Suffrage Association. To this end we accomplished:

1. A symposium on the Federal Suffrage Amendment by leading lawyers, business and labor men, educators, editors and clergymen from all over the state, published in book form and distributed broadcast.

2. Nov. 16, Federal Amendment Day—calls made by six women from each ward on their respective congressmen to urge them to vote for the amendment.

3. Federal Amendment petitions containing names of 7,000 women presented to the St. Louis delegation in Washington.

4. Numerous letters from prominent men sent to Washington delegation, urging passage of the amendment.

5. Endorsement of the amendment secured from the Republican National Committee, meeting in St. Louis.

These and other accomplishments perhaps did much to bring about the Missouri vote on the amendment: The House, January 10th, 14 ayes, 1 no.

One more action taken by the League intended to assist in the securing of Federal Suffrage was our protest, in common with the protest of other organizations, against the picketing of the White House by the members of the Congressional Union—the United States Militant Suffragists.

Of a less "suffragistic" nature but nevertheless of assistance in the growth of suffrage sentiment, the League, as was always its practice, shared prominently in much civic work affecting women and children. Important activities of this nature were the sending of letters of protest to St. Louis Congressmen when the repeal of the Federal Child Labor Law was threatened as a war emergency; investigation of the high cost of milk measures to relieve the crises; reorganization of the police women system; protest against the employment of young girls in messenger service by telegraph companies; and an appeal to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to increase appropriations for public health work.

Of note especially during this year of 1917-1918 was the formation of a Men's Advisory Committee, composed of 147 well known St. Louisans organized under the sponsorship of the following: Messrs. Jackson Johnson, N. A. McMillan, Ernest W. Stix, Joseph Woracek, Edward F. Goltra, E. M. Grossman, Benjamin Gratz, and J. L. Babler; and a Teachers' Division, going well into the hundreds in its membership.

During this year, too, was formed the Joint Conference of Suffrage Leagues of St. Louis, composed of four delegates from the Business Women's Suffrage League, four from the Wage Earners' Suffrage League, and four from the Equal Suffrage League, which met twice a month. The appointment of Mrs. David N. O'Neil, member of the League's City Central Committee, as representative on the Women's Advisory Committee of the National Democratic Committee showed the growing interest in us that political organizations were acquiring. The membership of the League by the end of 1918 had grown to 8,086. The executive secretary, Mrs. Lucille B. Lowenstein, did superhuman work to achieve these results. Most wonderful of all, and thanks to Mrs. Ernest W. Stix's efforts, a complete budget for the year was raised.

Before the end of 1918 Mrs. Stix was forced by illness to resign and Mrs. Lowenstein left the office of executive secretary to work in that capacity on the Missouri Children's Code Commission. Mrs. George Gellhorn, most prominently identified with suffrage hard work in the state and city for a decade, was elected chairman. Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke, who combined the rare qualifications of organizing ability, eloquence as a speaker, and skill as a publicity woman, became executive secretary.

Because everything was so well organized in the St. Louis League, it could extend to the National American Woman Suffrage Association an invitation to hold its convention in St. Louis.

This unprecedented convention was held March 23-29, inclusive, 1919, at the Statler Hotel with two great overflow evening mass meetings at the Odeon. It was the most constructive and widely handled suffrage propaganda ever accomplished in St. Louis. It was said by Mrs. Catt "to be the best convention ever held anywhere," and delegates from all over the United States took back to their homes the story of the efficiency and cordiality of St. Louis. A large local group of women worked indefatigably for weeks beforehand for the success of the great undertaking, but to Mrs. George Gellhorn must go the honor of planning and directing this force.

The high points of the convention were: the powerful address of the National President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, "The Nation Calls," and "The Inquiry Dinner," when 1,200 people were seated in the ballroom of the Statler Hotel, and brilliant women responded to toasts under the general caption: "What is the Matter with U. S.?" One averred that "the women wanted it;" another that "the men wanted it;" still others that "Congress wanted it;" that "the legislatures wanted it;" that "the press wanted it;" and finally came the answer when Mrs. Henrietta Livermore of New York explained that the trouble was with the recalcitrant senators who had voted down the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

A most interesting feature of this convention was the Jubilee anniversary, "Then and Now—1869-1919," and the presentation to the convention of the descendants of the original St. Louis suffragists. The crowning achievement was the formation of a League of Women Voters and adoption by the convention of Mrs. Catt's Ten Points, which were:

1. Compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 and 16, with school attendance provided for nine months of each year.

2. Education of illiterate adults in common school subjects and English by extension courses in the public schools.

3. Stricter provisions for naturalization, the character

of which must be determined by co-operation with other organizations.

4. Votes for women to be given only to those who are naturalized in their own person or through the naturalization of their father, mother or husband after a residence of five years in this country.

5. Naturalization for married women shall be based on their own qualifications.

6. English to be the language of all public and private schools teaching general subjects.

7. Compulsory publication of lessons in citizenship in foreign language newspapers.

8. An oath of allegiance to the United States as qualification of the vote for all citizens, native and foreign born.

9. Schools of citizenship to be established in every rural school district and city ward in conjunction with the public schools.

10. An educational qualification for every voter in the United States after a definite date to be determined.

As during 1917-18, much work continued to be done when 1919 came along for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The suffragists began on a candidate as soon as he had filed for the primaries and they did not stop until they had pledged the successful candidates to vote for the Federal Amendment. If a candidate did not pledge easily he was gradually placed in a position where an exact self-written statement of his position was in the League's files. Both the Democratic and Republican state conventions were induced by suffrage delegations, with strong St. Louis League representation, to incorporate in their platforms satisfactory suffrage planks. On the two primary days, women from the League covered most of the precinct polling places in the city and secured many thousand signatures petitioning the State Legislature to ratify the Federal Amendment. When it became apparent that its often repeated, almost unbelievable defeat was impending in the Senate, plans were made for the introduction in the Fiftieth Missouri Assembly of a Presidential Suffrage Bill. The story of the final passage of this bill, and the story of the special session of the Legislature, held July 2, will follow by another narrator.

Before leaving the field clear for the political activities, it must be said that in spite of the tremendous amount of work involved in being hostesses to a national convention, in passing a Presidential Suffrage Bill, and in obtaining an extra session of the Legislature, reconstruction work continued to be done without stint. Very, very often the ward chairmen of the war and reconstruction organizations were our suffrage ward chairmen, taking on additional chairmanships as the call came. Preparation for citizenship was continued by participation in many lines of civic work. The greatest single contribution made in preparation for citizenship was the publication by Miss Mary E. Buckley, long the mentor of the League, of a book: "An Aid to the Woman Voter in Missouri," a complete guide to the woman—or man—who wishes to use the franchise intelligently. The suffragists practiced preparedness and had this manual ready to sell at 15c a copy to enfranchised Missouri women sixty seconds after their enfranchisement was granted. In a larger sense the women are following the doctrine of preparedness and through the League of Women Voters are equipping women to secure their political desires.

THE PART OF THE KANSAS CITY EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

BY MRS. THOMAS McBRIDE

The first woman suffrage association in Kansas City was formed at the Congregational Church, at Second and McGee, in 1892, with Mrs. Kersey Coates as president. The name of the association was the Equal Suffrage Association of Kansas City. The meetings were held monthly. The association did efficient work in assisting to improve the condition of the indigent poor and insane in our county and state. It also aided in securing a police matron, and in defeating the Social Evil Bill.

Mrs. Coates served two years as president of the Association. In 1894 Mrs. Frances Jenkins was chosen president and Mrs. Emma Jenkins, secretary. These officers served for two years. Mrs. G. B. Longan was elected president in the fall of 1896 and re-elected in 1897. During this period Mrs. Kathryn Lutz was recording secretary and Miss Almira Hays, corresponding secretary.

In March, 1897, it was decided to study citizenship and, with Miss Hays as teacher, the following books were studied: Mill, "Subjection of Women;" Fick, "Civil Government;" and Swift, "Solution of American Questions."

Mrs. M. P. Coleman was elected to succeed Mrs. Longan, and as she moved from the city the activities lapsed in her absence.

It was not until 1910, however, that there developed a general movement for suffrage. In the early fall of 1910 the D. A. R. chapters had as their guest Miss Elizabeth Pankhurst of England. Following her address the suffragists were again alert to begin work.

On Saturday, February 4, 1911, Mrs. H. B. Leavens, Dr. Dora Greene and Miss Helen Osborne called a meeting at the Y. W. C. A. More than a hundred and seventy-five women were present, all but three of whom gave their names for membership in the new organization. Mrs. G. B. Longan, Dr. Dora Greene and Mrs. Henry N. Ess were named a committee to draft the constitution. On February 24, 1911, the new organization met and elected Mrs. Henry N. Ess, president; Miss Helen Osborn, secretary, and Mrs. Clara Cramer Leavens, treasurer. The name of the organization was the Kansas City Woman Suffrage Association.

As time passed other groups organized, and much activity was developed. In the early fall of 1912 an Emerson Class on the south side had a speaker, Mr. Earl Barnes, who fired an awakening gun on the Woman's movement. It was as effective as it was sudden and unexpected. Later Cora G. Lewis, a member of the Educational Commission of Kansas, and a close friend of Mrs. Leavens', gave a most interesting and persuasive talk to the club. With her assistance, the South Side Equal Suffrage League was formed. Mrs. Cora Cramer Leavens was elected president and Cora Best

Jewell, secretary. The Men's League for Equal Suffrage was also formed to lend its support to the local and national leaders. Dr. D. J. Haff was chosen president and David Proctor, secretary. The Kansas City Woman's League was formed in 1914 to aid the Missouri Suffrage Association in having an amendment for woman suffrage placed on the ticket at the coming election by means of initiative petitions. Miss Annette Moore was president.

On November 17, 1914 the equal suffrage leagues of Kansas City met at the Y. W. C. A. to form an organization to work for the initiative petitions for a suffrage amendment and to work for the passage of the amendment if placed on the ballot. Mrs. G. B. Longan called the meeting to order and Mrs. Henry N. Ess was elected temporary chairman. A committee composed of Miss Ann Gilday, Mrs. T. F. English and Mrs. Elizabeth Platt, was named to draft a constitution. On November 24th the constitution was adopted. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Henry N. Ess, president; Mrs. Raph Swafford and Mrs. Murat Boyle, vice-presidents; Mrs. A. Y. Persinger, recording secretary; Mrs. Nettie Huff, corresponding secretary; Mrs. George Curtis, treasurer; Mrs. Milton Payne, auditor. The association was called the Central Suffrage Association. In 1915 the Central Suffrage Association, under the leadership of Gladys Nathan, Mrs. J. J. Riley and Mrs. S. E. Pendegrass conducted a successful campaign for funds at three different theatres. An excursion to Leavenworth was also a feature.

In November, 1915, Mrs. Ess was re-elected president; Mrs. Mazie Jones Ragan and Mrs. J. J. Riley, vice-presidents; Mrs. Dean Smith, recording secretary; Mrs. George Collins, corresponding secretary; Mrs. George Curtis, treasurer; Mrs. Payne, auditor. Mrs. Edwin Knapp was the chairman of initiative petitions. Mrs. Knapp and Mrs. Mazie Jones Reagan published a suffrage edition of the Kansas City Post. A Research and Filing Bureau was established with Mrs. L. T. Herndon as chairman. Clippings, magazines and papers were kept at headquarters for reference and information. Miss Almira Hays presented the early history of Kansas

City in suffrage to the Bureau. In March a banquet was given to L. G. A. Capleyat for his faithful and efficient work in securing one thousand signatures for the suffrage initiative petition. Among the speakers were Mr. Allen P. Prewitt of Independence; Mr. Frank Wilkerson, Mr. Copley and Mr. Walter Jobe.

In 1916 a lecture was given by Edward Howard Griggs at the Grand Avenue Temple. The fall campaign of that year was opened by a picnic at Fairmount Park in charge of Mrs. J. J. Riley. The function was well advertised. Handbills were distributed everywhere over the county and were posted in street cars. The first feature was a parade by women representing the full suffrage states—at that time twelve in number. Mrs. George Davis came last in line, dressed in black to represent Missouri. After the parade the president and the twelve representatives were taken to a platform and as each was presented, gave a short account of the history of suffrage in her respective state. Mrs. George W. Davis gave an original poem upon the status of women in Missouri. A city suffrage committee was named at this time of which Mrs. John R. Leighty was chairman. Mrs. Leighty was also the state president at this time.

Suffrage headquarters were established at the Grand Avenue Temple where each day a speaker's program was conducted and suffrage literature kept on file. The 1916 campaign to place the Missouri Suffrage Amendment in the state constitution was carried by Jackson county. A speaker's bureau was one of the features of the suffrage work. Miss Margaret DeWitt opened a school to train women to speak effectively. The school opened with ten and closed with sixty-five members.*

In November, 1917, Missouri organized her suffrage forces for petition work to prepare for the ratification of the federal suffrage amendment when it should be passed by Congress. A chairman was elected for each congressional district and each county. In Kansas City, where the county and congressional district are one, the chairman selected was over all the work. Mrs. J. B. White was named chairman; Mrs. George Hoxie Moffet, chairman at large; Mrs. Hugh Ward, vice-president; Mrs. O. P. Mossman, second vice-president; Mrs. Jules Rosenberger, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Thomas McBride, executive secretary; Mrs. E. R. Weeks, chairman of registration and Miss Alice Hurley, treasurer.** The wards were organized, and the two hundred and forty-eight precincts, sixteen small towns, and forty community groups in the townships, were visited to prepare the workers and the community for effective results. These visits were supplemented by letters and literature. More than a thousand letters were written to individuals to enlist their influence for congressional action.

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*The Seventh Ward Suffrage club was an important factor in that section of the city. It was organized by Mrs. Theodore William Schaefer. Mrs. J. A. Wright was chairman at one time during the illness of Dr. Schaefer. The ward was polled on not only the suffrage amendment but on the prohibition amendments.

In June, 1918, the committee voted to become a permanent organization with the same officers as those named to direct the committee. The name chosen was the Jackson County Suffrage Association. The purpose was to secure our quota of names on petitions and to do educational work to prepare for citizenship. Mayor Cowgill declared August 6-8 Suffrage Amendment Days. The drive resulted in 47,382 names on the women's petition and 12,583 names on that of the men's.

An advisory committee of men aided materially in our financial problems. Dr. D. J. Haff was chairman of the committee of one hundred men, and Mr. J. W. Perry was chairman of the local finance committee. The State Association apportioned three thousand dollars for Kansas City to con-

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**The township chairmen were as follows: Mrs. John Paxton of Blue township, Mrs. J. H. Wallace of Vanburen township, Mrs. Ben Yankee of Prairie township, Mrs. C. W. McIntire of Brooking township, Mrs. Chase Henthorn of Fort Osage township, and Mrs. B. F. Brainard of Washington township.

Other leaders in the work were Mrs. Sarah Greene, Mrs. Fanny Taylor, Miss Zerlin Reefer, Miss Emma Shelton, Mrs. Ross Latshaw, Miss Maud Meyers, Mrs. Henry Cohen, Mrs. F. C. Edwards, Mrs. Edwin R. Weeks, Mrs. A. L. Brunner, Mrs. Julius Erickson, Mrs. E. J. Corpenny, Mrs. Theodore William Schaefer, Mrs. Alexander Schaefer, Mrs. Edith Greene, Mrs. Sarah Pendegrass and Mrs. James Peterson.

tribute to state work and this was sent almost a month before the final payment was due.

Miss Josephine Casey and Miss Marie Ames were here from national headquarters to lend advice in perfecting work. Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale spoke on the political recognition which had been granted to the women in the allied countries. In July Miss Myra Edgerly, the famous portrait painter, addressed the members of the association. In December, 1918, Mrs. Katrina Ely Tiffany, chairman of Manhatten Borough in New York, spoke at a mass meeting at the Grand Avenue Temple on "Reconstruction After the War." Mrs. Tiffany also spoke to the guests at a dinner at the Muhlebach upon the subject "Suffragists in the War Work." In February Miss Helen Fraser, the only woman member of the Treasury Department in England at the outbreak of the war, addressed the members of the Jackson County Suffrage Association and their friends at a luncheon at the Muehlbach. Five hundred women were present.

In March seven members attended the National Convention and the State Convention at St. Louis. Generous sums were pledged by the delegation to the state and national funds. Mrs. Rosenberger, Mrs. Hugh Ward, Miss Margaret DeWitt, and Mrs. John B. White were made members of the State Board of Directors.

Mrs. Louis Slade of New York, spoke on the subject of "Human Suffrage" at a luncheon at the Hotel Baltimore in April. Two hundred and twenty-five women members were present. Through the Suffrage Association Dr. Anna Howard Shaw came as a guest of Mrs. J. B. White and addressed the Council of Women's Clubs at a mass meeting at the Grand Avenue Temple. She also spoke to the women of the Administrative School at a dinner at the Muehlebach. The theme of her message was to free women from inferiority. Dr. Shaw was a guest of the executive members of the Jackson County Suffrage Association at a luncheon at the Woman's City Club. While there Miss Reineke made an excellent picture of Dr. Shaw. This picture is considered a favorite of Dr. Shaw's, and is being sent by national headquarters to whose who ask for her picture.

In honor of the passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill a victory dinner was given at the Hotel Muehlebach on May 3rd. The State Board was in session all day and twenty-two of the members were guests at the dinner. Mrs. J. B. White, president of the Jackson County Suffrage Association, presided. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, honorary president, was toastmistress. Mrs. Charles Brooks of Wichita, chairman of the National League of Women Voters, was one of the speakers. Mrs. George Gellhorn, state president, gave a splendid and inspiring address on "Every Woman a Voter in 1920." Judge Latshaw, Judge Paxton and Judge Porterfield represented the Democratic party while the Republican party was represented by Mr. Piatt and Mr. Thomas R. Marks.

A citizenship school was held at the Public Library June 2 to 6, inclusive. One hundred members attended the very interesting and valuable course of ten lectures given by Professor Isidor Loeb of the University of Missouri.

On June 16th a mass meeting was held at the Grand Avenue Temple to recognize the passage of the federal suffrage amendment and to work for the calling of a special session of the Missouri Legislature to ratify the amendment. All parties were represented and spoke for the issue and many prominent suffragists gave voice to the work of the past and the hope of the future.

At the Independence Fair, held in August, a booth was maintained in the Art Building to interest the visitors to vote in 1920. Classes have been held in Buckner, Independence and in many of the wards. Many speakers have been sent to clubs and organizations to present the study course as outlined by the state association, using the "Aid to the Woman Voter in Missouri" by Miss Mary Buckley as a text book.

With presidential suffrage granted and the federal amendment passed by Congress and ratified by our Missouri Legislature, it is now the purpose of the Jackson County

Suffrage Association to perfect the educational program planned in the past.

MAKING SUFFRAGE SENTIMENT IN MISSOURI.

BY HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER
(Mrs. Walter McNab Miller).

Looking back from these victorious days it is difficult to realize that in 1913 Missouri was practically opposed to suffrage. Following the Mississippi Valley Conference, held in St. Louis, June, 1913, Mrs. W. W. Boyd was elected president of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association with a campaign to initiate a vote on suffrage by means of petitions. These petitions were printed and work begun in the city, when Mrs. Boyd went to Europe and Mrs. D. W. Knefler, one of the strong suffragists and best workers, moved to California, leaving the organization much crippled.

Before leaving for California, Mrs. Knefler had come to Columbia to urge me to undertake the carrying out of this campaign, the members of the Association feeling it necessary to secure someone acquainted in the state. The idea seemed impossible, and so I told her. But later I was overpersuaded by a remarkable group of women who had already done so much for suffrage in St. Louis. On a hot summer evening in August, this group met at the home of Mrs. George Gellhorn, and together we mapped out the campaign.

The latter part of August saw me out on the road, armed with a bundle of petitions to try out the temper of the people and to find workers for the campaign in the state. On a dusty, broiling day, early in September, I landed in Kahoka, Clark county, finding the town filled with strangers attending the County Fair. Thinking I knew no one in the town, I made the round from store to store around the square of the town, meeting with good-natured jeers, smiles, and in some places scant courtesy, until by good fortune I met a Missouri University girl who found for me a few people interested in suffrage.

Today with Clark county one of the strong suffrage counties, it is interesting to remember that the majority of the people asked to sign the petition refused, one young clerk of probably twenty-one, going so far as to say that he didn't "think women knew enough to vote." Early next day, I took my first ride on a freight train, and finding the brakeman and some traveling men friendly, persuaded them to sign petitions from their home county. And here may I register my appreciation of the traveling men. Then and throughout the whole campaign they were ever helpful—telling me of extra trains; where a weary soul could find a comfortable bed; and the best places in the towns to find something to eat; and brightening many an hour with their jolly stories.

Crossing the state, from one county to another, stopping at every little town, Sullivan county was finally reached.

Doubling back to Kirksville, I met for the first time with a cordial reception. There, as in all the college towns, more friends were found for suffrage than in any other part of the state—a strong argument for a liberal education, from the viewpoint of the suffragists.

After six weeks of constant travel I reached the office in Columbia with only a little over a thousand names, and sat down almost in despair wondering how the twenty-three thousand names needed to put the measure on the ballot were ever to be obtained. In the whole state there were only two live organizations—St. Louis and Kansas City—two paper organizations and a few committees; with petitions to be circulated in two-thirds of the Congressional Districts, the outlook seemed anything but rosy.

After another conference in St. Louis, it was decided not to attempt any permanent organization but to try to get volunteers from other women's organizations, who in the different counties would secure the requisite amount of names. The W. C. T. U. was the only woman's organization in the state at that time, save our own, that had endorsed suffrage, and their president, Mrs. Nelle Burger, and many of the county presidents, helped in every way possible and circulated petitions for us in many parts of the state.

Miss Laura Runyon of Warrensburg, chairman of the

Sixth Congressional District, made herself responsible for the names from that district, and Miss Bertha Rombauer took another whole district and secured the names from that.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Mrs. Richard Taafe, Mrs. Cosgrove and Mrs. White turned in the requisite signatures from the 15th district, and Mrs. W. R. Haight and Mrs. W. W. Martin from the 14th district. The Kansas City League looked after the 5th district, while the St. Louis League made themselves responsible for the three most difficult districts of the state—the 10th, 11th and 12th.

The 7th, 8th and 13th were the other districts chosen, and for the next six months the small band of suffragists in the state worked overtime trying to secure the necessary number. The interest roused thru the circulation of the petitions made some organization possible, and the first state meeting with regular elected delegates, was held in Columbia in May, 1914, at which time it was found, to our great dismay, that we were short several thousand names of the required number with only a few weeks left in which to secure them.

Shortly afterward, Rosalie Jones, called the "Little General," came to St. Louis to speak, and Mrs. David O'Neil, always on the job, wired to know if we could not use her for securing the last number of petitions. A return wire brought Mrs. O'Neil, "General Jones," Zoe Akins and Mary MacDearmon to meet me in Hannibal. And without a moment's delay we started out, two by two, to cover the town. A day and a half of ceaseless work gave us almost enough names to put the first district on the map.

Being anxious to win friends for suffrage in Hannibal—where sentiment was anything but favorable—it was decided to hold a meeting the second evening. So we made for the nearest newspaper to get out dodgers and secure publicity. Here we found John A. Knott, who though not a suffragist, was so thoroughly a host that he made himself responsible for the success of the meeting, secured the court house, advertised, and with less than twenty-four hours' notice had a crowded house to greet the "Little General." Here the first collection for suffrage, outside the cities, netted us the sum of $11.40—a huge sum for those days.

While in Hannibal arrangements were made by long-distance with Palmyra and Kirksville for "General" Rosalie Jones to speak in both places, and in these towns we met the same courteous treatment as in Hannibal. In Palmyra, Mr. and Mrs. Head opened their home to the "General" and myself, worked up a meeting and then loaned their automobile for the first street speech ever made by a woman in that part of the country. There as in Hannibal, the "General" won many friends for suffrage, and later in Kirksville, where she spoke from the court house steps, she was a great success.

Best of all, at the end of a long, hot day in Kirksville where Miss Jones, little Miss Baxter, Mrs. Geo. Still and myself had circulated petitions, we found the number of names required by law to put our measure on the ballot had been completed. The joyous news was wired to St. Louis and plans were rapidly made for a representation from each Congressional District to come to Jefferson City for the presentation of the petitions to the Secretary of State.

Never will the suffragists who took part in that little demonstration forget the day. Each district had its petitions wrapped in white tissue paper and tied with yellow ribbon, ready to present. The Secretary of the State stood at the head of a long table in his room and the officials and clerks from the other offices crowded in to see the sight. The reporters, too, were on hand, but many who came to laugh went away sobered by the earnestness and dignity of the little ceremony, and convinced that when a group of women were willing to work as hard for a principle as had the little group there assembled the victory would surely be won.

In presenting the petitions the fact was emphasized that the argument most strongly used against suffrage, namely: that the women of Missouri did not want it, was answered by these petitions. In the city, on the farm, circulated by school teachers, housekeepers, college girls, by women of all ages and ranks, just for the love of the cause, these petitions proved the contrary to be true.

Mr. Cornelius Roach, the Secretary of State, received the petitions in a most friendly manner, saying that he hoped that this work which had been done at such great cost would bring with it the desired reward.

The group then had the first suffrage picture taken in Jefferson City and went home rejoicing to begin the big fight trying to convert a majority of the Missouri men to vote for suffrage between July and November. And now began the busiest six months in the history of the Missouri Association.

With practically no money in the treasury, with no paid organizers in the field, no trained workers, with only a handful of earnest, hard-working suffragists, the task seemed hopeless. But our courage brought some outside help—Mrs. Medill McCormick sent an organizer into the state and paid all her expenses for four months. She also paid the traveling expenses of a Washington suffragist who with Mrs. Wm. R. Haight of Brandesville, went down through the 14th district and won many votes for suffrage. About $1,800.00 came in from friends outside the state and an equal sum was raised in various ways in the state—most of it from St. Louis, and an equal amount was spent in St. Louis. Dr. Shaw sent a Missouri girl—Jane Thompson—to help us in St. Joseph for a month, and better still came herself for four speeches. In her autobiography she speaks affectionately of the time she spent in Missouri and of the interesting time she had in Bowling Green with Mrs. Champ Clark. In Louisiana she spoke from an automobile, and then went to Hannibal where she made one of the most wonderful speeches I ever heard her give.

Jane Addams, too, gave us three days, one of which was at Columbia. It is worthy of note that as late as October, 1914, the prejudice was still so strong against suffrage that the University authorities were afraid to have Miss Addams speak in the University Auditorium and the town Opera House had to be hurriedly secured. There she spoke to an overflow house, and again at a State Baptist Convention, then in session, and at both meetings spoke most convincingly.

The following day she went to St. Louis and on down to Cape Girardeau where we had our banner meetings. The auditorium of the Normal School was crowded to overflowing at the afternoon meeting, the Court House was jammed for the second and the moving picture show overrun for the third. Another noted guest who helped in the Missouri campaign was Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky, who visited Carthage, Joplin and Willow Springs and with her silver-tongued oratory and logic made many converts. Helen Todd, too, came for a flying visit. Mrs. McCormick spoke in Kansas City and local speakers helped us everywhere.

The Board having decided to cover the State Fair, the Fair directors gave the Suffrage Association a goodly space. This, Miss Engel and I decorated to the best of our ability and from there distributed literature to all whom we could inveigle into stopping for a few moments.

Miss Laura Runyon, Dr. Dora Green Wilson, Mrs. B. F. Burch and other suffragists came to the Fair for a day at a time and helped in the booth, as did a few local suffragists, and Miss Engle, who was a gift from Mrs. McCormick, was a host in herself.

Covering the county fairs was another means of propaganda. Three tents were bought and Miss Rumbold arranged for groups of St. Louis business women to take charge of these, set them up and distribute literature in various points in the state. This caused much interest, as such methods were then novel in Missouri.

Among many speeches one was made that will ever be memorable. Happening to be in Springfield at a time when Senator Reed was to speak there, and visiting the family of the Democratic county chairman, it was an easy matter to arrange for a place on the program. Knowing, of course, how delighted Mr. Reed would be to have a suffragist speak on the same platform with him, nothing was said about it until just before the meeting. We all filed onto the stage, took our seats, and when the curtain rose, imagine the surprise of the audience to see seated near the orator of the occasion, a suffragist. The evening went off fairly well, and Mr. Reed was courteous.

The following morning the telephone rang and a pleasant voice over the 'phone said, "you do not know who I am but I just called up to tell you how very much obliged I am to you for looking so like a lady last night." This little story is indicative of the feeling that even personal friends had regarding the activities of the suffragists and shows how difficult work was in those days.

The press and publicity work was done by Emily Newell Blair and to her more than to any other one person is due the cordial support we had from the press, which as a whole was most friendly and won over communities to the cause. For her whole work, office, stenographers, printing, postage, plate and news service, all—she had less than $1,800.00, and I think no press chairman ever made so much headway with so little capital. Our treasurer, too, Miss Buckley, was a wonder and under her careful management our little campaign fund stretched like the "widow's cruse of oil."

At last came election day and when it was all over the general verdict was that we had lost. But did we? When the vote came up in Congress the next winter for the first time, eleven of the sixteen Missouri Congressmen voted for the Federal Amendment. Sentiment in the state had so changed that organization was possible and the passing months, which had seemed to bring only defeat in their train, had been building a sound foundation for a later victory.

At the first board meeting after the November defeat, it was decided to attempt the passage by the Legislature of a Joint and Concurrent Resolution, re-submitting the question of suffrage at the election in 1916. The Resolution, written by Judge Walker, now Chief Justice of Missouri, was introduced in the Senate by Senator Craig of Maysville, and in the House by Mr. Roney of Joplin. It finally passed the House by a vote of 88 for to 2 against, but failed to come to a vote in the Senate. In the Senate the bill would never have come out of Committee had it not been that Jasper county had carried for suffrage and Col. Wm. Phelps, Senator from that district, happened to be chairman of the Elections Committee and the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, and the constant pressure from his constituents finally convinced him that there was a real reason for reporting the bill out. He said one day, a little impatiently, "my constituents have spent enough money on telegrams to feed all the Belgian babies," and knowing as he did, that constituents were not fond of spending money in that way, he wisely persuaded the Committee—most of whom were violently opposed to suffrage—to allow the bill to be reported out, but it died on the calendar.

By this time, however, the bad effect upon the Federal Amendment of the loss of a campaign in the state was recognized very clearly, and the National Board asked officers of each State Association to refrain from entering into a campaign. This request created consternation in Missouri as time and money had been spent in securing a large number of petitions and as the campaign was a joint one in which the W. C. T. U. had most unselfishly given itself, the decision presented many difficulties.

At the state meeting in Springfield in May, 1916, however, it was decided that in loyalty to the National Organization, the campaign should be given up, so, with the consent of the officers of the W. C. T. U., and with much reluctance the petitions were carefully put away for future reference. At this state meeting in Springfield in May, 1916, Mrs. John Leighty, a most competent organizer and effective worker, was elected president, and for the next year National work took all of the time.

In 1917, as Mrs. Leighty declined re-election, the state work again fell to my share, but the war made it most difficult. Everywhere the suffragists were leading in war work and many felt that to do suffrage work at such a time was almost disloyal. For this reason what work we did was done as an aside to the war work, and perhaps greater headway was made than would have been possible in any other way, as audiences were not composed of suffragists only, but of Americans of every type.

In working with the Food Administration there were many opportunities of saying a good word for suffrage, and as all the war workers used judgment in the way they presented the suffrage questions, the war work was rather strengthened than harmed by the joining of the two pleas for democracy.

With the closing of the war and the new urge toward democracy given by the women's work, the National Board asked all the state organizations to put in a bill for Presidential Suffrage, feeling that in this way the pressure upon the National parties coming from many women in many states having the right to vote for the next President would result in the passage of the Federal Amendment. So Missouri for a second time tried her fate on a Presidential bill.

Early in May the board decided it would be wise to move headquarters from Columbia to St. Louis, that the St. Louis and state offices might be united in the petition work, which was to be undertaken in the state. The petition work this time was to the legislators asking them to ratify the Federal Amendment should it be passed by Congress. The organization of the state was still so incomplete that it was with difficulty that the petitions were secured, but when about seventy-five thousand names were ready active legislative work was begun.

Before the primaries, letters were sent to all candidates asking first, their stand on suffrage, and second, if they would vote for the Federal Amendment should it be passed by Congress. Needless to say, very few answers were received before the primaries; after the primaries a second letter was sent to the successful candidates on each side and their answers filed. After the election in November, a third letter was sent to the successful candidates congratulating them on their election and asking once more for a pledge on the question of the ratification.

Another piece of work for the summer was the interviewing of the members of both state committees, as well as the candidates for office, with a view to getting a plank in the party platforms. As the state conventions met on the same day, Mrs. O'Neil, Mrs. Stix and I went to Jefferson City to attend the Democratic Convention, leaving Mrs. Gellhorn and Mrs. Grossman and Miss Mary Semple Scott to look after the Republican Convention in St. Louis. At both conventions the advance work that had been done brought its reward and the Republicans put a very good plank in their platform, and called on Mrs. Gellhorn for a talk, while the Democrats in Jefferson City gave us every consideration and invited me to speak in the beautiful new capitol. As it was the first time a woman had ever spoken in a party convention in Missouri and the first convention held in the new capitol, it secured a happy augury of days to come when men and women should meet there together.

After the state conventions, as the records showed a much larger proportion of men favoring suffrage in the lower House than in the Senate, two of the national organizers, Miss Marie B. Ames and Miss Alma Sasse, were sent out to visit the senatorial districts, interview the senators and find the strong people in each district upon whom reliance could be placed to exert influence in case of need. This proved a very wise move as there were times when the fate of our bill hung in the balance and nothing but friendly pressure from home held some of the senators in line.

The opening of the legislative session found a number of women at the capitol, four of them ready to stay through a session if need be, to secure successful action from the Legislature. As the Federal Amendment had not passed Congress and there seemed no immediate prospect of its getting through, it was decided to present a presidential and municipal suffrage bill. As Jasper county had been one of the few counties to carry for suffrage in the early days, its representative, Mr. Walter Bailey, a Republican, was asked to look after our bill in the House, and Senator James McKnight, a Democrat, who had been a constant supporter of suffrage for women, to do the same in the Senate.

The story of the passage of this bill will be told by Miss

Ames who was on the ground throughout the session of the Legislature which put Missouri on the map as a partial suffrage state. The excitement of those days can scarcely be described. At one time there were on the calendar of the Senate four bills dealing with woman suffrage—a most unheard of condition, and one calculated to bring about disaster, because even our friends were at times uncertain as to what we really desired.

In every possible way, by interviews with individuals and groups, by letters and telegrams from home, the lobbyists in Jefferson City endeavored to clear up the situation, but at the time of the National Suffrage Convention in St. Louis the four measures were still on the calendar and the tension was great. But, in the end, the Presidential Suffrage Bill was passed. We, who had left the convention in St. Louis after hurried greetings to the distinguished guests who had gathered there, rushed back again from Jefferson City. And, oh, the joy of the celebration of the final victory with suffragists from all over the United States! The time and the occasion were fitting for celebration of the victory, and no other could ever be so thrilling as the one following this first bit of suffrage given Missouri women.

Later the Senate Bill was passed by the House. To know how strong suffrage sentiment in the House really was, one must remember that the House was Republican, the Senate Democratic; that the House had early passed a very liberal bill with the hope that their bill would be passed by the Senate and the women given municipal as well as Presidential suffrage. Instead of that their bill had been left on the calendar and the Senate Bill hurried through for passage and now they were asked to substitute the Senate measure for their own.

There was a strong temptation to play party politics, but as the speaker said in a caucus held in his room at noon to decide what should be done with the bill, "Boys, we can't play politics with the Missouri women," and his words voicing the will of the majority, the Senate bill was passed in record time, sent back to the Senate for final signature, and then to the Governor, thus closing one of the most interesting legislative experiences that any group of lobbyists ever experienced.

Too much cannot be said for the support given us by the real suffragists in both Senate and House and for the cordial co-operation of the presidents of two other great state organizations—Mrs. Nelle Burger, president of the W. C. T. U., and Mrs. George Still, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs. They, together with the men and women from all over the state stood behind the suffragists who headed the fight, and by letters, telegrams and constant support made possible the passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill. The Governor and his wife were sympathetic and helpful in every way, and it should not be forgotten that the first suffrage meeting ever held in the Executive Mansion was arranged by Mrs. Gardner for two envoys from a neighboring state enroute to Washington City to work for the Federal Amendment. The beautiful luncheon she gave these guests and the enthusiasm which was roused through her efforts, gave an impetus to the cause of suffrage in Cole county which materially aided in the legislative work.

HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE BILL IN MISSOURI.

BY MISS MARIE B. AMES

It is a most significant event in the history of Missouri that the Presidential Suffrage Bill passed by the 50th General Assembly should be the first bill introduced in the new State Capitol. In keeping with the motto over the main entrance to this magnificent building, "Salus populi suprema lex esto," the representatives of the people, both in the House and Senate, felt it most appropriate to introduce as Bill Number One a bill giving the women of Missouri a supreme voice in the making of the laws.

The history of the Presidential Suffrage Bill is a most interesting one. The success of the bill is due to the untiring efforts of four women who spent a large part of their time at the State Capitol: Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association, who saw the work of past years culminate in the passage of this bill; Mrs. David O'Neil, vice-president of the State Association, whose efforts, especially among Democratic legislators was most successful; Mrs. Wm. R. Haight, corresponding secretary, whose unfailing tact with the Republican members weathered many a critical situation; and Miss Marie B. Ames, field director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of the Missouri Suffrage Association, who was in charge of the legislative work.

Immediately after the 50th General Assembly convened January 8th in Jefferson City, and after Governor Gardner in his message had recommended the passage of such suffrage legislation as the women might desire, our Presidential Suffrage Bill was introduced in both the House and Senate. Thru the courtesy of Hon. Wallace Crossley, President of the Senate, and Hon. S. F. O'Fallon, Speaker of the House, our bill was made Bill Number One. This bill was introduced in the House by Representative Walter E. Bailey, Republican, of Jasper county, and in the Senate by Senator James McKnight, Democrat, of Gentry county, two men of the highest standing in their respective parties.

The first great victory was scored on February sixth in the Senate when our bill was put on the calendar over the adverse report of the Elections Committee. Immediately following the report of this committee it was moved by Senator McKnight, author of the Senate Bill, that Bill Number One be put on the calendar over the adverse report of the committee. To place a bill on the calendar over the adverse report of a committee is almost without precedent in the Missouri Legislature. The fate of presidential suffrage for the women of Missouri rested upon the result of this motion.

For three hours was waged a bitter war of words. Fearing an attempt might be made to persuade several of those senators mildly favorable to the bill to leave the senate chamber just previous to the taking of the vote, three suffrage guards (Miss Marie Ames, Mrs. Wm. Haight and Miss Alma Sasse), were stationed at the exits to the Senate chamber to request all senators favorable to the bill to return to their seats. As there was not one vote to spare a great responsibility rested upon these guards who were on duty from ten o'clock in the morning until one o'clock at noon when the roll call was taken on the motion to place the bill on the calendar. Finally, the vote was taken eighteen to fifteen in favor of placing the bill on the calendar over the adverse report of the Election Committee. The first fight for presidential suffrage was won.

Our second victory occurred on Tuesday, February eleventh, when the House passed the House Bill by a vote of 122 to 8. For three hours a tribute was paid to the women of Missouri by many members of the House known for their eloquence and oratory. For the first time in the session of the 50th General Assembly, Speaker O'Fallon left his chair and, on the floor of the House, delivered a powerful address in favor of the Presidential Suffrage Bill. Hon. Frank Farris also made a speech of great brilliancy. The final vote, almost unanimous, was a real tribute from the House to the Missouri women.

Two days after, on Thursday, February thirteenth, our bill was passed in the Senate for engrossment. At this time an attempt was made to "kill" the bill by an amendment to refer the bill to the general election in 1920. This amendment was defeated. Two other amendments offered by Senator Howard Gray, a staunch supporter of suffrage, were carried. These provided for a separate ballot and separate registration for women.

Not having succeeded thus far in defeating the Presidential Suffrage Bill in the Senate a final attempt was made by the opposition. This time methods of delay were used to prevent the bill being brought before the Senate for the third and final passage. Several attempts were also made to "persuade" favorable senators to vote against the bill on final passage.

From February thirteenth until the last week of March it was impossible to be sure of eighteen votes—the number necessary for the final passage of the bill.

During the last week of March the National American Woman Suffrage Associaton held its 50th annual convention in St. Louis. It was felt at this time that, with the delegates from all over the United States to lend their moral support, an attempt should be made to secure the final passage of our bill thru the Senate. It was finally decided that the bill must be brought up for final passage on Friday, March twenty-eighth. During this week two senators favoring the bill were absent, Senator Stark was at his home in West Line and Senator Gray had been called to Caruthersville.

On Thursday afternoon, March twenty-seventh, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Mrs. David O'Neil, Mrs. Wm. Haight, and Miss Marie B. Ames met for a final consultation. Senator Stark responded to a long-distance telephone call and promised to be in his seat the next morning ready to vote "aye." After consulting time-tables it was found impossible for Senator Gray to arrive in time for the final vote. At this stage when the four members of the suffrage lobby were in despair, Hon. Edward F. Goltra, committeeman from Missouri on the Democratic National Committee, asked to be permitted to contribute a special train from St. Louis to Jefferson City in order to enable Senator Gray, a Republican to arrive in time. This offer was gladly accepted and Senator Gray left Caruthersville that night.

Early on the morning of the twenty-eighth the women hastened to the capitol to see that everything was in readiness for the final passage of the Senate Bill. Telegrams began to arrive reporting the progress of the "Suffrage Special" on its way to Jefferson City. Exactly at 10:10 A. M., Hon. Wallace Crossley, President of the Senate, called that body together. Altho only a few senators knew that the bill was to be called up that morning, an air of expectation pervaded the Senate chamber. Senator Stark arrived during the night and was present at the opening of the session. After prayer by the Chaplain and the reading of the minutes of the preceeding day, Senator McKnight presented a telegram from the National American Woman Suffrage Association asking for the immediate passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill. As this was being read, Senator Gray, supposed by the opposition to be safely in Caruthersville, walked into the Senate chamber. A dead silence fell upon the room. Gloom was upon the countenance of those who had hoped to send the bill to its defeat. In the battle of wits the side of right and justice triumphed. Without one further word of opposition the Senate Bill granting presidential suffrage to the women of Missouri was passed by a vote of twenty-one to twelve.

The pen used by President Crossley of the Senate in signing the Senate Bill was presented to Miss Marie B. Ames.

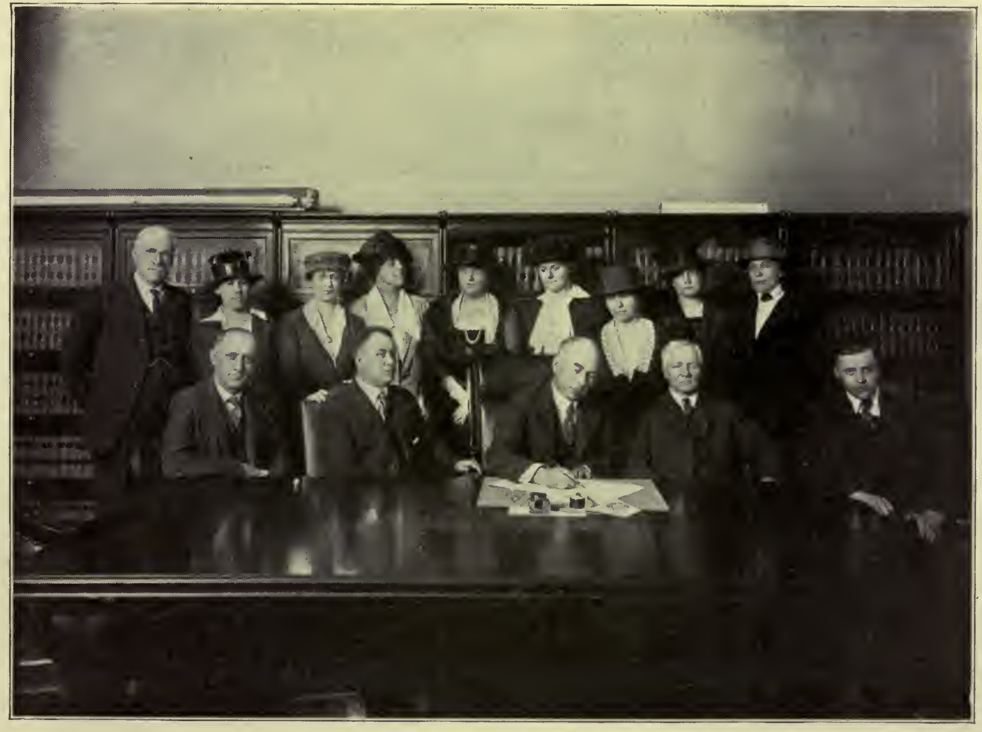
Under ordinary circumstances, at the final passage of the bill in the Senate, the House bill would have been substituted for the Senate bill, thereby saving the necessity of further action by the House. Because this would have necessitated several extra roll calls, which the suffragists did not care to risk, the Senate bill was sent over to the House. The following week the House, in a great spirit of magnanimity passed the Senate bill. The pen used by Speaker O'Fallon on this occasion was presented to Mrs. Wm. R. Haight.

On Saturday afternoon, April fifth, in the presence of members of the State Board of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association Governor Frederick D. Gardner in his private office at the capitol signed this bill, and presidential suffrage for women became a law of the state. The pen used by Governor Gardner in signing the bill was later presented by Mrs. George Gellhorn to the Missouri Historical Society.

Thus the members of the 50th General Assembly proved faithful to the voice of the people and the new state capitol witnessed, in the signing of the Presidential Suffrage Bill, one of the greatest events that has ever taken place in the history of Missouri.

Missouri women may now vote in November, 1920, for the next President of the United States.

Salus populi suprema lex esto!



SIGNING OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL.

Office of the Governor, 1:40 o'clock, Saturday April 5, 1919.

Seated at table, reading from left to right: Senator J. W. McKnight, Lieutenant-Governor Wallace Crossley, Governor Frederick D. Gardner, Speaker S. F. O'Fallon, Hon. Walter E. Bailey.

Standing, from left to right: Mr. A. L. Kirby. Mrs. J. W. McKnight Miss Marie B. Ames, Mrs. David O'Neil, Mrs. Frederick D. Gardner. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Mrs. W. R. Haight, Mrs. Walter E. Bailey, Mrs. S. F. O'Fallon.

SUFFRAGE IN MISSOURI FOR THE YEARS 1916-1917.

BY AGNES I. LEIGHTY

(Mrs. John R. Leighty)

In considering the history of woman suffrage in Missouri, account must be taken of the great concerted movement toward developing public sentiment on the subject throughout the entire United States. In other words, the National program as carried out elsewhere reacted upon the state.

The year 1916-1917 was rich in experience for those elected to head the Missouri State Board at the Springfield convention in May, 1916. The first work that was presented to me as State Chairman was propaganda in the interest of the two monster demonstrations that were being organized to accentuate our appeal for Suffrage planks in the National platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The conventions were held in St. Louis and Chicago, respectively, and thousands of women from all parts of the country were willing to join in these programs to visualize to the delegates the sentiment for suffrage in every state in the Union.

At that time, it was not easy to arouse the women of Missouri to see the need of giving personal service. Outside of Kansas City and St. Louis, only twenty attended the National Suffrage Convention at Chicago, which held its sessions simultaneously with the Republican National Convention, and closed its deliberations with the second great march for the cause of woman's enfranchisement. Though it was the month of June, the weather was of the March variety. However, though the elements took sides against us, the effect was a reaction in our favor, for ten thousand women marching in that storm, for a principle of justice, made an impression that took shape in a plank supporting that principle in the National Republican platform.

The logic of the position taken by those marching was exemplified in a discussion which took place when plans for the demonstration were being made. Someone remembering the excentricities of Chicago weather asked whether they would march if it rained. A little woman exercising a woman's paerogative of answering one question by asking another said, "Wouldn't we vote if it rained?" It was evidently this indomitable spirit that gained us a friend in one of the main doorkeepers at the Coliseum which was the objective of our march, as the Resolution Committee was in session there, and the reasons for and against our proposal were being presented to them at that time.

Though the public were not expected at this hearing, some friend opened the door and when the head of the column of marchers reached the building, we passed quietly inside. After several thousand of us had made a group about the platform where the deliberations were being conducted, we were edified to hear the National Chairman for the Anti-Suffragists tell the Committee that the women "really did not want the vote." I leave it to you to judge what the sentiment was on the question of at least the ten thousand present, and so was suffrage history made for Missouri.

The thrill planned to impress the delegates of the Democratic Convention in St. Louis was described as a "Walkless Parade or Golden Lane." The story of that enterprise will be told by a representative of the St. Louis League, but I would like to mention some of the points that helped win recognition of the principle involved by another great political group.

Though a minority report was submitted against the endorsement of the plank it failed of its purpose—as the final wedge was driven home to the delegates, when Senator Walsh of Montana, in presenting the majority report, pointed out that the states where women voted controlled 93 electoral votes, and that these women had been largely instrumental in sending Democratic Congressmen to Washington. He asked the delegates if they wished to turn those 93 electoral votes over the Republicans. That clinched the argument and many doubting Thomases came straight into the fold.

The happy result of the peronsal appeal from the women of the state to their delegates was illustrated in the instance of Tennessee. The representatives of that state came to the convention without a single "aye" vote for our plank in their pockets but after the delegation had been canvassed up one side and down the other by Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of the State Suffrage Association, they voted "yes" to a man on the resolution. To show her appreciation, and incidentally to make it quite plain to them that she was still "sitting on their doorstep," so to speak, when they gave proof of their good intentions by recording this affirmative vote ,she responded by giving the "Rebel Yell" from her seat in the gallery. This was greeted by arousing shouts from those on the floor of the convention. And so was suffrage history made in Missouri.

The women of the state who had participated in these stirring events went back to their homes with a new purpose and determination. The state work was a hard, long pull, for we had little money, and the awakening consciences of the women took concrete form in questions that required letters, letters, letters in reply. We had no time to keep an account of literature and letters sent, for the state chairman was also literature chairman and chief.

One of the interesting instances of the summer's work was a visit to Marshall, where a suffrage program was given from the "Susan B. Anthony Balcony" built on the lawn of the beautiful home of Mrs. Dotia Trigg Cooney. Though we could not claim that Saline county was wildly enthusiastic over suffrage, the presence of about two hundred guests, a hot night in August, proved that they were being impressed with the determination of the women of the state, as represented by Mrs. Cooney, to carry it through. The Director of Publicity for the National Association told the delegates attending the convention at Atlantic City that this Balcony was one of the most interesting bits of publicity for suffrage in the United States. And so was suffrage history passed upon outside of Missouri.

In August we went to Jefferson City to the conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties to ask that they place a plank for suffrage in their state platforms but our faith failed the test of removing the mountain of antagonism to the woman movement in Missouri and disappointment was our reward.

On September 6th, ten women from the state went as delegates to the National Suffrage Convention at Atlantic City. Never before had any gathering of women excited so much interest as was made manifest at this time. The press, politicians, laymen and even the clergy, believed that we were worth watching, at least. The great event of this convention was the visit of President Wilson, as chief speaker at an evening session, where he announced to the whole world, that he had "come to work with us." This definite endorsement set the stamp of approval of the government upon our movement. And so was suffrage history set forward in Missouri.

The outstanding feature of the deliberations of this convention was the discussion of a resolution that would pledge our efforts to Federal Amendment work entirely and abandon active campaigns in the states. The adoption of this plan, as seeking expression only through the Federal Amendment, was looked upon as a tacit recognition of a definite Republican principle. The active state work, winning success by state referendum campaigns, a like recognition of a Democratic principle. Pledging ourselves to one plan or the other was looked upon by those interested in politics as an endorsement of the policy of one party or the other, and, as a consequence, the press gallery was always full of reporters and "front page" was our portion, in the world of publicity. So you see what I mean when I say that we were considered worth watching. The masterly debate was thrilling as the brainiest women of the country participated. In the end, a resolution was adopted endorsing a more active program in Washington for the Federal Amendment and a continuation of the State Referendum Campaigns. This standardized the work of the states and we brought back to Missouri a definite understanding of our needs for Congressional co-operation.

The St. Louis Equal Suffrage League subscribed five hundred dollars to carry on this work in our state and Mrs. Charles Passmore of St. Louis was made chairman of the Congressional Committee. The result of this action is told in another article. To prove our case as to the new birth many leagues that had ceased to function came to life and took part in this activity and progressive sentiment was shown in the willingness to spend real money for telegrams to our Congressmen and postage for many letters.

This being a legislative year, it gave us an opportunity to present to the State Legislature a bill for Presidential Suffrage. We opened headquarters in Jefferson City with Miss Geraldine Buchanan of California, Missouri, in charge; with some members of the State Board present during the session. We distributed literature and information from headquarters and upon one occasion gave a tea to which we invited the members of the Senate and the House and their wives, as well as social leaders. It was a great success owing to the efforts of the women of Jefferson City. Though the Legislature of Illinois had passed such a bill and its constitutionality had been established by the Illinois Supreme Court, the lawyers of this state were slow to agree with this decision and their lack of faith delayed its presentation to our Legislature for several weeks. Mr. Percy Werner of St. Louis agreed to settle its legal status before the Senate and House Committees and the last of January it was introduced in the Senate by Senator Mitchell of Aurora and in the House by Representative Nick Cave of Fulton.

The more progressive tendencies of the House were well known, though they could feel quite safe on any proposition as to its ultimate outcome. The Senate would look after that. In consequence of this, the bill was reported upon favorably by the House Committee, without opposition, but when we came to the Senate hearing we found a representation of the Anti-Suffrage forces, Miss Bronson, National Secretary, ready to present their viewpoint. She made herself so interesting by telling funny stories uncomplimentary to women that a joint meeting was arranged for the House and Senate meeting, at nine o'clock the next morning. We learned of this after most of our Committee had gone to their trains, and were in bed. We proceeded to bring them back to the hotel and when the Legislature convened the next morning we were there in full force much to Miss Bronson's chagrin.

We insisted on presenting our side if she did hers, and though she sat with packed baggage all day hoping we would give up and go home, we remained and at five o'clock they capitulated to us and we took thirty minutes of her time. We were represented by Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce of St. Louis, whose mother and grandmother had been before the Legislature in the interest of suffrage and who represented all that generations of southern ancestors can give. At the close of the session a Senator was heard to remark that Mrs. Fordyce represented to him all that he had imagined the anti-suffragists to be and Miss Bronson all that he had conceived a suffragist to be.

As the bill languished in the hands of the Senate Committee, we pulled every wire to secure a report on it. One morning the members of the House and Senate came to the session to find yellow blotters with a map of the United States showing the growth of suffrage and some interesting statistics, upon their desks. As fast as one disappeared, a new one took its place. Another time when they opened the St. Louis paper they found a large paid "ad" conspicuously displayed stating the position taken by the St. Louis members of House and Senate on the subject.

Through the good offices of the National Suffrage Association in Washington, we succeeded in having sent by Hon. Champ Clark, then Speaker of the House, to the Senator from his home district, a letter asking his support of the measure. After due season we learned that it was on its way, whereupon I called upon him to ask that he show it to the members on the floor of the Senate who would be most influenced by it. He asked me how I knew he had received it, when I told him we had been angling for it for about three weeks. He laughed and said, "The Legislature might just as well give you women what you want, first as last."

The peregrinations of the bill were as various as can come to a measure which has some strength but is eventually doomed to defeat. Pressure forced it out of Committee, but with an objectional "rider." Believing in preparedness we saw many friendly senators as soon as this fact was made known to us late one night. So that in case it should be taken up out of order in the morning, a surprise attack would not disconcert our friends. In the end we went down to defeat with the Workman's Compensation and some Children's Code bills.

The State Convention which convened in Kansas City in May, 1917, was the largest and most successful ever held up to that time, which showed that the sentiment was increasing in an ever widening circle. Already the war clouds were growing very ominous. Our time was being pledged for service, and as during the period of the Civil conflict, suffrage for women was laid aside for preparations for war, and thus was suffrage history halted in Missouri.

RATIFICATION, SCHOOLS, AND LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

BY EDNA FISCHEL GELLHORN

(Mrs. Geo. Gellhorn)

"While Europe's eye is fixed on mighty things,
The fate of Emperors and the fall of Kings,
While quacks of state must each produce his plan,
And even children lisp the Right of Man,
Amid this mighty fuss just let me mention,
The Rights of Women merit some attention."
—Robert Burns, Nov. 26, 1792.

Presidential Suffrage had been won, the National American Woman Suffrage Association in convention assembled had celebrated the winning of this victory with a monster mass meeting on the night of March 29, 1919. A dramatic chapter was finished.

What next?

Missouri held its State Convention on March 30th, 1919.

The next step was obviously the organization and education of the newly enfranchised voters. At a meeting held in Kansas City on May 3, 1919, a budget system for the state was adopted and the counties of the state were given quotas to raise the amount needed to finance the state work. Kansas City raised $3,000 at a magnificent banquet held on the night of May 4th at the Muehlebach Hotel; Mrs. J. B. White presided. St. Louis having paid an equal amount during the year 1918-1919, gladly accepted its quota of six thousand dollars to be paid in during the next fiscal year. Six thousand dollars was prorated throughout the remaining districts of the state giving a working capital of fifteen thousand dollars.

On May 21, 1919 the House of Representatives passed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the National Constitution by a vote of 304 to 89. On June 4th the Senate passed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment by a vote of 56 for, 25 against. Every Missouri Congressman in the House voted in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, one Missouri Senator voted in favor, and one against. The Susan B. Anthony Amendment, "The Right of Citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," was signed in the absence of President Wilson, by Vice-President Marshall, June 6th.

A new crisis had arisen. The Sixty-fifth Congress had delayed passage of the suffrage amendment so that when the Sixty-sixth Congress should have passed the amendment the legislatures of practically all but nine of the forty-one states whose legislatures had been meeting during the winter of 1919 had adjourned. On May 24th the following bulletin was received from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt:

"As you are aware the Suffrage Amendment is through the House and is assured early passage by the Senate. What then?

"Is it impossible to recur to our aim of 1918—'All women enfranchised before the next presidential election?'

"What can be done? Secure ratification in SPECIAL SESSIONS of the Legislatures!

"Will you and your board co-operate in a 'Finish the Fight' campaign?"

For a moment it seemed impossible that the Missouri Legislature which had adjourned after its one-hundred-and-twenty-day session should be summoned by Governor Gardner to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but Missouri women had never stopped at a task because it seemed difficult. They started eagerly on the task of securing the consent of the Governor to call an extra session of the Legislature.

Jubilee celebrations over the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment were held in the largest centers of the state. The ones in St. Louis, Kansas City and Sedalia were the most spectacular. In St. Louis a large delegation waited upon the Mayor, the President of the Board of Aldermen, and other city officials, and escorted them in gaily decorated automobiles preceded by a band, to the steps of the Post Office, on Ninth and Olive streets. There Mayor H. W. Kiel, who had for years been a good friend of suffrage, made a rousing address. Addresses were also delivered by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Mrs. Geo. Gellhorn and Hon. Chas. M. Hay. Bombs were exploded in various parts of the city announcing to all that the Amendment had passed, and that Missouri was glad. In Kansas City a similar meeting was held in one of the large theatres. Representatives of both major political parties took part in the celebration and Miss Marie Ames made the principal address on this occasion. The meeting in Sedalia was similarly planned and carried to success by the local organization of which Mrs. J. Rudd Van Dyne was chairman.

Thus the first step had been taken toward approaching the Governor. The press notices had assured him, and all other Missouri men, that Missouri women wished that the long fight for the full enfranchisement of the women of the United States might end through rapid ratification of the Suffrage Amendment by thirty-six Legislatures. A delegation of women waited upon Governor Gardner. Governor

Gardner had proved himself throughout his term of office a loyal friend to the women who were working for enfranchisement. The advice and aid of Mr. Edward F. Goltra, National Democratic Committeeman for Missouri were solicited. Mr. Ben Neal of Greenfield, State Democratic Chairman, was asked for help in securing a special session; Mr. Jacob Babler, Republican National Committee, and Mr. W. L. Cole, Republican State Chairman, Mayor Kiel and many other political friends helped in placing before Governor Gardner the urgency of calling a special session. The organized women of the state added their influence. The members of the General Assembly were most generous in offering to pay their own expenses in some instances, and in proclaiming their willingness to give up whatever else they might be doing to answer the call for an extra session. Finally on June 9th word came over the wire that Governor Gardner had agreed to call a special session. There was no time for the rejoicing which suffragists felt in their hearts at this moment. Beyond a few brief expressions of special appreciation to the Governor for what he had done, they stopped for nothing, but set to work immediately to get in touch with every member of the Legislature to be sure that when the Legislature was called to order on July 2nd there would be an overwhelming number of votes cast in favor of ratification. The Suffrage Organizations throughout the State of Missouri assisted by the Federated Clubs and by the W. C. T. U. got into action. Visits were paid to Representatives and Senators by their constituents. Letters were written and telegrams sent so that there was no doubt in the minds of any State Representative or Senator as to what he was expected to do when he arrived in Jefferson City.

On July 1st the suffragists gathered at noon in Jefferson City and started the State Board meeting with a luncheon at the New Central Hotel. This was thrown open to all who wished to attend. The program of the Board meeting was carried out with much enthusiasm. Mr. E. F. Goltra, Mr. W. L. Cole and Mrs. Nelle Burger of the W. C. T. U., carried off the honors as speech-makers on this occasion.

Everyone was on edge with excitement. At seven o'clock the Ratification Dinner took place. The members of the Legislature were the invited guests of the State Suffrage Association. Every inch of space in the dining hall, ante-rooms, and lobby of the New Central Hotel was filled with tables and chairs. Never had so many people sat down to a banquet in so limited a space before. The Governor was escorted to the hall by Mrs. Hugh C. Ward of Kansas City, Mrs. Fred L. English of St. Louis, Mrs. Claude Clark of Jefferson City, Mrs. J. Rudd Van Dyne of Sedalia, and other members of the Reception Committee. Lieut. Governor and Mrs. Wallace Crossley were escorted by Mrs. Morrison-Fuller and Mrs. Geo. Warren Brown of St. Louis, Mrs. J. B. McBride of Kansas City and Mrs. W. E. Harshe of Columbia. The Jefferson City Committee in charge of local arrangements had left no stone unturned, nothing was lacking that had needed doing. The banquet was brilliant and delicious. The program follows:

PROGRAM
Ratification Dinner
Tuesday, July 1, 1919.
New Central Hotel
7:30 o'clock

"* * * At last the victory dawneth!
Yea, mine eyes
See, and my foot is on the mountain's brow."
—Euripides.

Mrs. George Gellhorn, Presiding

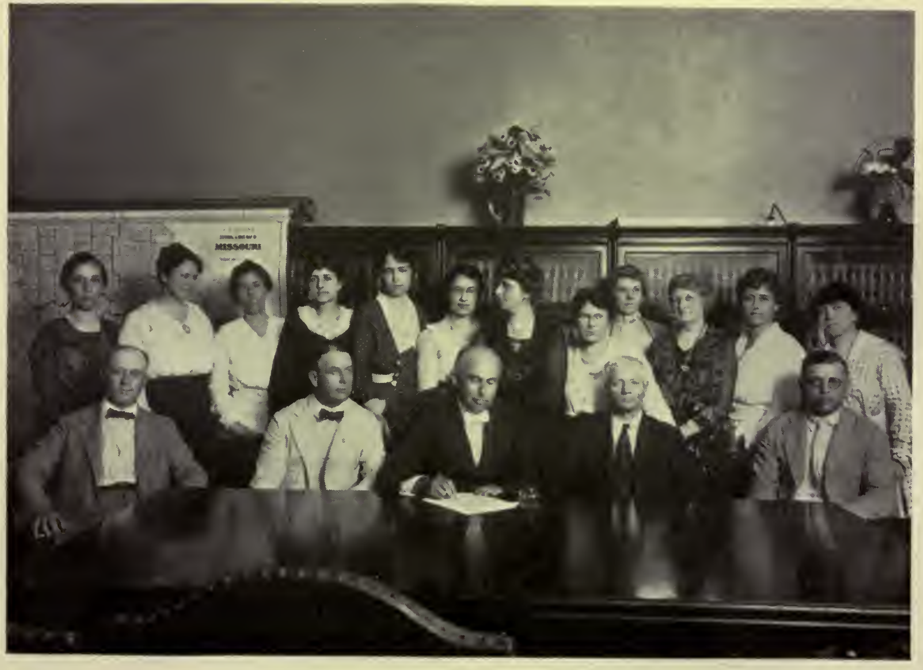
Reasons for an extra session	Governor Frederick D. Gardner
As soon as we can start	Lieut. Gov. Wallace Crossley
There's none to vote against it	Speaker S. F. O'Fallon
Interesting Interlude—	Mr. J. I. Babler, Mrs. Hugh Ward, Mr. E. F. Goltra
Finish the fight	Senator J. N. McKnight
Intensely Sanguine	Representative Walter E. Bailey
Co-operation that co-operates	Mrs. Nelle Burger
After all	Mrs. Berenice Morrison-Fuller
Teaching Tactics	Miss Marie Ames
In Passing	Mrs. F. B. Clarke
Over the Top	Mrs. Walter McNab Miller
Now, let's adjourn	Mrs. George Gellhorn

Governor Gardner spoke with eloquence and strong appeal. Lieut. Governor Crossley, always an orator, was at his best. Terms of appreciation of what the women of Missouri would bring to the betterment of conditions in their state formed the backbone of all speeches. The place rang and re-echoed with applause, it interrupted the speeches of men and women alike. Mrs. Morrison-Fuller raised over three hundred dollars for the future work of the Jefferson City League, Governor Gardner starting the gifts with his pledge of one hundred dollars. The evening closed with greatest enthusiasm and good fellowship, and everyone knew what the vote would be when the session was called to order the following morning.

At ten o'clock, July 2nd, 1919 a spontaneous procession of women was formed from the New Central Hotel to the beautiful capitol building. The historic Missouri Parasols which had figured in every suffrage celebration beginning with the Republican National Convention in Chicago and the Golden Lane at the time of the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis in 1916, were in evidence, and yellow banners, ribbons and flowers gave the dominant note of color as the women filed into the capitol. The galleries of the Senate chamber and the House were filled. Senator McKnight introduced the ratifying result in the Senate, and Representative Walter E. Bailey introduced it in the House. The House voted in favor of ratification by a vote of 125 to 4 and the Senate by a vote of 29 to 3.

The Missouri women will forever be grateful to the Fiftieth General Assembly. It had done for the women of the state all that was possible for it to do. It had memorialized Congress urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in January. It had passed the Presidential Suffrage Bill in March. It had ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment in July.

Governor Gardner signed the Ratification Bill in his office at three o'clock on the afternoon of July 3rd. The officials appended the seals and the document was put into the mail before the Board of Suffrage Organization left Jefferson



SIGNING MISSOURI'S RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

Office of Governor Frederick D. Gardner, July 3, 1919:

Seated at table, reading from left to right: Senator J. W. McKnight, Lieutenant-Governor Wallace Crossley, Governor Frederick D. Gardner, S. F. O'Fallon, Hon. W. E. Bailey.

Standing from left to right: Mrs. S. F. O'Fallon, Mrs. Nelle G. Berger, Mrs. J. W. McKnight, Mrs. J. Rudd Van Dyne, Mrs. Fred English, Miss Marie B. Ames, Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Olive B. Swain, Mrs. John R. Leighty, Mrs. Bernice Morrison Fuller, Mrs. Claud Clark, Mrs. W. R. Haight.

City, and thus ended this chapter of the legislative struggle for suffrage for the women in Missouri.

One great sorrow came in the midst of the rejoicing. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw died a few hours before the Missouri Senate ratified. In a very quiet and impressive meeting resolutions were passed in memory of Dr. Shaw and sent to the National Suffrage Association. The Senate and the House passed resolutions and sent them. Most of the members of the Assembly had known and heard Dr. Shaw when she had spoken for the suffrage bill before the 1913 Legislature.

The State Board left Jefferson City intent upon the next step. Citizenship schools were to be the method of education and the slogan, "Every Missouri Woman an Intelligent Voter in 1920," was cheerfully adopted. Under the direction of Mrs. Olive B. Swan, large preparatory meetings and citizenship schools have been arranged throughout the state and a successful program of education has been carried on in every one of the sixteen Congressional Districts of Missouri.

Miss Marie B. Ames and Miss Lutie Stearns have been the two experts who have traveled through Missouri holding meetings and conducting schools. Mrs. John R. Leighty, Mrs. R. L. Sanford, Mrs. A. Bushman have assisted, and Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke has conducted all St. Louis schools. The University of Missouri has been most generous in rendering assistance, Dean Isidor Loeb giving tirelessly of himself, his advice, and his assistance in the department.

After a Citizenship School has been held, the local league has continued the work of the school by forming itself into a group to study more in detail the problems and machinery of government. Miss Mary Bulkley's book, "An Aid to the Woman Voter in Missouri" has been taken as the guide for this work; current topics, or the newer phrase, "World Problems" form the program for future meetings. The work of the nine committees of the League of Women Voters created much of interest for those who are doing the work and for those who are privileged to hear of it through league meetings. It is the duty of the State office to keep in touch with all local organizations and to aid them in planning these programs and furnishing material or speakers as requested.

Between July 1st, 1919, and January 1st, 1920, twenty-one Citizenship Schools have been held in Missouri and numerous meetings arranged by the Central office throughout the state.

At the Golden Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in St. Louis in March, 1919, the League of Women Voters was organized. Missouri having won Presidential Suffrage was part of this League, but was not permitted to change the name of the Suffrage Organization and adopt the more forward-looking caption. After the Legislature had ratified, however, Missouri was given permission by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, National President, to call a state convention and change the name of its organization. Therefore, on October 16, 17, 18, 1919, a called convention of the Missouri Suffrage Association was held and the old organization merged into the new under the name of the Missouri League of Women Voters.

The St. Louis Committee on local arrangements had prepared for every detail of the convention. Therefore, it seemed more like a national than a state meeting. There was a note of strength and devotion to large ideals throughout the meetings. The chairman of the organization had made a report of one hundred and twenty active leagues in the state and not one district of the state had failed to send a goodly delegation. There were 122 delegates present and the ballroom of the Statler Hotel was filled to capacity at every session. A new constitution which had been written by Miss Laura Runyon of Warrensburg, Miss Myrtle Wood of St. Louis and Mrs. Elmer McKay of Springfield was adopted. Article II reads:

> "The aims of this League shall be to increase the effectiveness of women's vote in furthering better government. The League, as an organization, shall be strictly non-partisan. Its officers and members are free to join the party of their choice."

There is much misunderstanding of the object and purpose of the League of Women Voters. Both major parties are a bit suspicious and very watchful lest the League of Women Voters should interfere in any plans they may have for organizing the women. This misapprehension will disappear in time and the political parties will be grateful to the League of Women Voters for the part it will play in the education of the electorate of the state and in the effect it will have in defeating the prime enemy of advance, apathy. Leaflets are being circulated throughout the State of Missouri stating the aims and purposes of the League of Women Voters. These same aims and purposes are being explained at all Citizenship Schools and gradually men and women alike are realizing that it may become a great force for good.

THE MISSOURI LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

What is it?

A group of enfranchised women, who want not merely to vote but to vote for something. The vote is only a tool with which to work and for years they have struggled and sacrificed to secure it. Now, they want to build a better world for their neighbors and their posterity. They are women skilled in organization, propaganda, and political work. They have won the vote for themselves against great odds and now they propose to unite once more and to bring their experience, their training, and their enthusiasm to bear upon other problems.

What problems?

Illiteracy, too easy qualifications for the vote, too uncertain dissemination of knowledge concerning citizenship and its duties and kindred topics.

How is the work to be done?

By creating so widespread a demand for the needed correction of these ills that each political party will adopt the movement and make these aims a part of its platform and its campaign.

Is it political?

Certainly, but not partisan. Its members are as free as other women to join and vote with the party of their choice. They make no pledge otherwise in joining the League of Women Voters. Their only obligation is to support the program which aims to bring the laws and the practices of every state up to the standard of the best law and best practice of any state.

Is it opposed to existing parties?

No, it is all-partisan. It is not the intention of the League of Women Voters, as such to endorse or to oppose parties, not to dissolve any present organization, but to unite all existing organizations of women who believe in its principles. It is not to lure women from partisanship, but to combine them in an effort for legislation which will protect coming movements which we cannot foretell, from suffering the untoward conditions which have hindered for so long the coming of equal suffrage.

What will the program be?

All programs will be worked out by committees composed of experts on the subject treated, and will then be adopted, amended or rejected by the League of Women Voters in open discussion at its annual convention. There will be no secret support of or opposition to any measure. All members of the League and the public may know the exact objective of the League at any time.

How will the program be carried out?

The League of Women Voters authorizes the following committees:

1. American Citizenship.
2. Protection of Women in Industry.
3. Child Welfare.
4. Improvement in Election Laws and Methods.
5. Social Hygiene.
6. Unification of Laws Concerning the Civil Status of Women.

7. Food Supply and Demand.
8. Research.
9. State Dependents.

What are the aims of the League of Women Voters?

To complete the full enfranchisement of women in this country. Ten aims with the view to securing the more intelligent citizenship, more efficient elections and higher political ideals, together with seven aims with the view to protecting women in industry, have been adopted and nothing further can be added until the next meeting in February, 1920.

Meanwhile, what?

Organization, education, understanding, study, investigation and legal work. Later, what? A nation redeemed from the charges of ignorance and corruption; a nation glorified by a democracy safe for the world.

Can women accomplish this alone?

No, women and men will work together. There is no war, no conflict, no misunderstanding between the sexes. There are men and women with a vision of better things and men and women with no vision. The League of Women Voters makes its call to the brave, the intelligent, the forward-looking. No others will be interested. Its program is so patriotic, so sound, so obviously needed; its motives are so unselfish and impersonal; its aims so certainly for the "benefit and good of mankind" that its success is assured.

Our purpose.

A country in which all voters speak English, read their own ballots and honor the American Flag.

The following resolutions were passed at the Convention:

Be it Resolved, That

1. We favor the passage of the Smith-Towner Bill now before Congress providing for the creation of a Department of Education in the National Government.

2. We urge an investigation into the status of women's place in civil service with a view to removing widespread discriminations against women, first by legislation when necessary; second, a change of rules by the civil service commission and third, by a change in practice.

3. We urge that the National and State Committees of the different political parties authorize and require that women voters of Missouri shall be permitted to participate in all matters connected with the choice of delegates to the forthcoming National Conventions of their respective parties.

4 We favor the calling of a state convention for the purpose of providing a new Constitution for the State of Missouri.

5. We favor a Budget System for National, State and City Governments.

6. We favor a reform in the system of state taxation.

7. We urge the placing of women upon school boards and boards of public institutions.

It is impossible in a mere recounting of incidents even is as rich a year as the one drawing to a close to give any impression of the efforts that have gone into the accomplishing of these incidents. Only those who have striven for accomplishment can judge of the self-sacrifices for work that often seemed to have been dropped into a bottomless abyss; of the efforts connected with visiting those who are not always too eager to be visited; of the money raising, of the details of creating an organization; of the endless heart-burns that accompany legislative effort when the task seems all but finished and at the last moment some prop on which one had counted gives way and the planning must begin again. But all this is forgotten in the joy of final accomplishment. Today much that was difficult is easy; the effective chairman of publicity declares that the press is eager to take news; speakers are happy of an audience before groups of voting women; and leaders in every party are friendly.

In 1871 the Rev. Dr. Eliot, the first Chancellor of Washington University, wrote: "Women will make their mistakes as men have done and are doing. They can hardly make greater or worse. But as a general thing we may safely look for their influence in all social and national interests, to be thrown upon the tide of morality, religion, temperance and good order. I regard the right of suffrage a duty to be imposed upon women as upon men, the discharge of which is not generally pleasant, nor desirable for its own sake, but which involves the most sacred obligation of every good citizen for individual protection and for the general welfare."

If singleness and integrity of purpose and devotion to accomplish results can presage success, then the dream of three generations of Missourians will be realized in the elections of 1920 when the women of the state will join with the forward-looking men of the state and cast their votes for the right as they see it. Missouri women take up the challenge. They are awake. They have faith in themselves, in their state, and their nation. What is good shall grow better, what is wrong shall be righted, as men and women together take up the problem of Peace.

"We are entering a struggle in which constitutional and political methods of evolution are in conflict with direct methods of revolution. This is not time for neutrality. Those who believe in evolution rather than revolution should be up and doing. Are the women of the United States big enough to see their opportunity?" is the challenge voiced by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

"CARRY ON, ST. LOUIS"

BY MADELEINE LIGGETT CLARKE

(Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke.)

The National American Women Suffrage Convention closed the last day of March, 1919. April dawned upon an exultant but weary group of St. Louis women. It seemed singularly appropriate after the successful pre-convention teas and the great convention; after the year of fruitful word done by the St. Louis League; after the triumph of winning presidential suffrage; that the election should be celebrated by a "Victory Tea."

Senator James W. McKnight and Rep. Walter B. Bailey—"The men who changed us on the map from 'Old Black Mo.' "—were asked to be the speakers. A charming program of music with the presentation to Mrs. O'Neil for her long and faithful service of the illumined testimonial from the St. Louis League made the afternoon a memorable one.

The election was under the direction of Mrs. J. P. Higgins, who had arranged with the elections commissioner for a complete election paraphernalia and who conducted the election as if it were a regular city election. The ticket was headed by Mrs. Fred L. English, who was unanimously chosen president. She is the youngest woman who has ever been president of the St. Louis League and she entered upon a year of tremendous responsibility and ardent work. Bringing to the office youth, a charming personality, earnest conviction, indefatigable industry and administrative ability, she has naturally been successful. Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke continued as executive secretary. Upon these two falls naturally the brunt of the work. But the co-operation of officers, heads of standing committees and ward chairmen, has made success possible.

The women of Missouri having been granted the Presidential vote were clamoring for information. Mrs. Clarke had long cherished a desire to hold a school for voters. She knew the hour had struck. The demand and the desire had fused. As chairman of the School Committee with the assistance of Mrs. English, a number of committees, and the co-operation of distinguished St. Louisans, the school was arranged and put through. The Y. W. C. A. allowed the League the use of its auditorium and assisted the committees most generously in every way. Three sessions a day were held for five days, with evening classes for business women. Over 450 women paid their admission to the school. Many of the day pupils were women with families who got up at five o'clock to make their household adjustments and leave their children provided for during their absence. The women who came to the night classes after a day's work in offices or school rooms made like sacrifices. This is the spirit that wins and augurs well for the new citizen.

The course included classes in Citizenship (five Presidential Suffrage lectures) organization: Public Speaking, Suffrage History and Argument, Parliamentary Law, Use of Literature and Publicity.

An offer was made to women desiring to apply for paid organizing positions, of three weeks' preliminary work under the direction of the organization chairman, Mrs. Clarke. From this group a limited number were to be selected to go on salaries, and of these a half dozen women have done splendid work; Mrs. Charles T. Shewell, Mrs. Laura S. Edwards, Mrs. A. R. Robi, Miss Ida B. Winter, Mrs. Daisy Erion.

Through the long, hot days of July and August these organizers canvassed the city. It has always been said that "no one worked in St. Louis in summer," but the Suffrage League proved that no season was impossible. Ward chairmen were found who felt the significance of their position and wished a part in this great awakening of their sisters. Precinct captains were discovered who wished to do their part in this organization work. Meetings were held in homes, halls, churches, parks, wherever men and women wanted to hear of the "New Citizenship."

The response to this call makes those who are engaged in this work realize that women indeed wish to utilize the great privilege that has been so long in coming.

Citizenship Schools were resumed in September. It was decided to hold them by wards. Some wards grouped themselves and held joint schools. Others needed more than one school for a single ward, the geographical extent and street car facilities determining the school boundaries. In three months half of the wards in the city have been covered. Women have come eager, earnest, and the results have been most gratifying. A new plan is being worked out of having free schools, beginning in 1920. Schools were also established for women who are newcomers to our country, women to whom opportunities of education have been denied or limited, yet whose vote is as significant as any cast, but who must be approached in a simpler way. Little plays showing scenes in naturalization offices, voters' drills, appeals to the eye and information, were presented attractively and succinctly.

From the woman who wishes to know about "proportional representation," to the woman who sees how her vote and her garbage pails are connected, we must be prepared to answer all calls. The schools have been supplemented by classes given to clubs and organizations. They furnish the audiences, we furnished the course. Thousands of women have been reached.

In order to make the history of the schools a continual recital it has extended over the time when many other events were transpiring. The passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment by Congress on June 4th, was celebrated two days later in St. Louis. After the Missouri Legislature had ratified the Susan B. Anthony Amendment at the special session July 3rd, St. Louis felt that the significance of the occasion demanded a celebration both joyous and beautiful. A picnic supper was given in Forest Park. After this, the picknickers adjourned to the Municipal Theatre where a large block of seats had been reserved for them.

The suffragists requested Park Commissioner Cunliffe to allow them a few minutes between Act I and II to voice their gratitude for the ratification of their amendment. This permission was most graciously granted. The vast audience of over 6,000 people was literally sprinkled with yellow. As soon as the lights were off, after the first act, the women assembled on the stage, where under the direction of Miss Alice Martin, they were grouped in an effective tableau. The ward chairmen and organizers, to the number of sixty, were massed on either side, all wearing white with yellow sashes and carrying the famous yellow parasols. The ten women in the center group represented the states where the Amendment has been ratified. As the lights went up a great wave of applause swept over the audience and as it subsided Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, honorary president of Missouri Woman Suffrage Association, stepped forward and in a dignified speech told the audience of the great meaning of the occasion, and gave to Mrs. Fred L. English, president of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis, the banner of Missouri, the eleventh state and at that time the last state to ratify. The orchestra played a triumphant march and the lights went down as the audience cheered their delight.

The next large event in the League's history was the State Convention held at the Statler Hotel, October 16, 17 and 18. This was an historic occasion as the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association was to be re-christened "The Missouri League of Women Voters." The St. Louis League as the hostess organization had much preparation to make and how efficiently it was done under the leadership of Mrs. English is testified to by the best state convention ever held in Missouri. A large group of committees worked indefatigably and everything went smoothly and happily. The crowning event of the Convention for St. Louis was the Finance Dinner given by the League on the evening of October 16th in the Statler Hotel ball room. Over 500 men and women attended, and the picture presented by the huge dining room was a beautiful one.

Mrs. Charles Brooks, chairman of the National League of Women Voters, was the toastmistress. Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter of the National Republican Women's Executive Committee, spoke on "Why You Should Be a Republican," Mrs. Antoinette Funk chairman of the Education Committee of the National Democratic Committee told "Why You Should Be a Democrat." Mrs. Gellhorn received an ovation when she arose to speak on "The League of Women Voters" and at the end of her speech appealed for funds for the year's work. Over $7,000 was pledged then which has been further supplemented until now pledges from $11,000 to $12,000 have been received. This will undoubtedly be increased until the budget of $16,000 is completed.

On November 13 at a meeting of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis, the draft of the new constitution, copies of which had been mailed to the members ten days previously, was adopted after discussion and minor changes. By this the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis was changed to the League of Women Voters of St. Louis. Thus an organization which had survived and triumphed was re-named to fulfill its new function, its great task of acting as a clearing house and leavening influence to the vast new group of women voters. Organization is the test of strength of a society and by this test the St. Louis League has proved that it is a living, growing unit of earnest women, looking toward the future in which they are to have a part as full citizens.

In a report of this sort it is impossible to mention the names of all the men and women who have served the cause of suffrage and citizenship so nobly. The ward chairmen who are the strong links of the organization, the members of the executive committee, the officers, the heads of standing committees, the women who respond so cheerfully to special calls should have their names emblazoned in gold, but: "Their joy is the gladness of those who feel they are helping the whole."

In "The Story of a Pioneer" Dr. Shaw tells how Miss Anthony on the last afternoon of her life, when she had lain quiet for hours, suddenly began to utter the names of the women who had worked with her, as if in a final roll call. Many of them had preceded her into the next world; others were still splendidly active in the work she was laying down. But young or old, living or dead, they all seemed to file past her dying eyes that day in an endless, shadowy review, and as they went by she spoke to each of them.

"Not all the names she mentioned were known in suffrage ranks; some of these women lived only in the heart of Susan B. Anthony, and now, for the last time, she was thanking them for what they had done. Here was one who, at a moment of special need, had given her small savings; written a strong editorial; that one had made a stirring speech. In these final hours it seemed that not a single sacrifice or service, however small, had been forgotten by the dying leader. She said, 'They are still passing before me, face after face, hundreds and hundreds of them, representing all the efforts of fifty years. I know how hard they have worked. I know the sacrifices they have made. But it has all been worth while.' "

And so to the thousands of women of St. Louis who by their unselfish efforts have made suffrage possible, to the added thousands who are striving toward a better citizenship, say, "It has all been worth while!"

Congressional Work

BY BERTHA K. PASSMORE

(Mrs. Charles Passmore)

Early in 1916, in February, Mrs. Catt called a congressional conference at Saint Louis which was attended by delegates from almost every one of the 16 congressional districts of Missouri. At this conference, Mrs. Catt presented the organization plan which the National Suffrage Organization had adopted and which called for organization and work along strictly political division, that is by congressional districts, with a State Congressional Chairman and sixteen congressional district chairmen in charge of the political work. My informal appointment as State Congressional Chairman followed and in April the following district chairmen were appointed, whose appointment, as well as my own, was confirmed by the State Board at its meeting at Saint Louis in June, 1916:

District No. 1. Mrs. Otho Mathews, Macon, Macon county.

District No. 2. Miss Alma B. Sasse, Brunswick, Chariton county.

District No. 3. Miss Myrtie B. Fields, Hamilton, Caldwell county.

District No. 5. Mrs. Geo. E. Curtis, Kansas City, Jackson county.

District No. 6. Miss Laura Runyon, Warrensburg, Johnson county.

District No. 7. Miss Hattie Guild, Sedalia, Pettis county.

District No. 8. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Columbia, Boone county.

District No. 9. Mrs. James Johnson, Mexico, Audrain county.

Districts Nos. 10, 11, 12. Mrs. Charles L. Passmore, St. Louis (until some one could be found for these three districts).

District No. 13. Mrs. Alice Curtis Moyer-Wing, Wills, Wayne county; and Mrs H. H. Hammond, Bonne Terre, St. Francois county.

During March and April, on an organizing trip which took me through the second, third, fourth and fifth congressional districts, I went to Excelsior Springs, accompanied by a delegation of Kansas City suffrage officials and workers, where we presented resolutions to the Republican State Committee, asking them to endorse a plank for women suffrage in the Republican National platform. The Committee listened respectfully and just as respectfully declined to endorse such a resolution.

Prior to the National Republican Convention which was held at Chicago and the National Democratic Convention which was held at Saint Louis in June, 1916, we sent letters and telegrams from every congressional district to the Missouri electors urging them to support the suffrage plank which we hoped would be inserted in the platform, and as soon as we learned that Senator Stone was to be chairman of the Democratic committee on resolutions, he was bombarded with hundreds of telegrams urging him to support the suffrage plank which the National Suffrage Association had offered. This plank, however, was defeated 25 to 23 and President Wilson's plank urging suffrage by states, was adopted 25 to 20. The minority report signed by four delegates, headed by Governor Ferguson of Texas, was defeated 888½ to 181½.

August, 1916, saw us at Jefferson City at the State Committee meetings of both Republicans and Democrats, and after some effort I obtained a hearing for us before both committees. We offered suffrage planks for their consideration which were simply an affirmation of the planks indorsed by the National Conventions, but met with no success.

Mrs. Catt thought the time ripe for consideration of the Federal Amendment as a means of obtaining our enfranchisement, and beginning with September, 1916, we started circulating petitions urging consideration of the Federal Amendment and an early vote on it in Congress. Petitions were sent from every congressional district where we had an organization, and national organizers were sent into several of the districts in order to effect the establishment of leagues. Letters were sent to the Missouri delegation in Congress and of the sixteen Congressmen fourteen replied, twelve declaring themselves in favor of the amendment, one was non-committal and one voted "No."

Mrs. Catt urged us to try for limited suffrage during the 1917 session of the Legislature at Jefferson City. We obtained the opinion of several lawyers both at St. Louis and Kansas City on the constitutionality of a bill granting women presidential suffrage. Every opinion was negative except that of Mr. Percy Werner of Saint Louis, who held that a measure asking for presidential suffrage by legislative action was sound constitutionally. Hence, armed with the draft of our bill, we presented ourselves at Jefferson City on February 5, 1917, and on February 6, 1917, Senator Robert Mitchell of Verona, and Representative Nick T. Cave of Fulton, presented the following bill:

Senate No. 478 and House 792:

An Act to amend article II of chapter 43 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri of 1909, by adding thereto a section to be known as section 5800a, extending the right of suffrage to women in certain cases.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:

Section 1. Any person, whether male or female, but in all respects except sex qualified to vote for members of the most numerous body of the state legislature, may vote for electors for president and vice-president of the United States and for all officers other than those provided for in and required by the state Constitution.

The bill passed the House on March 14, 1917, by a vote of 84 to 36 and this constituted the first definite accomplishment for suffrage in Missouri. The Senate Committee reported the bill unfavorably 4-2, but in spite of this it was placed on the calendar by a Senate vote of 18-10. It died on the Senate Calendar although we took advantage of a ruling by which bills which had passed one House were to take precedence over similar bills pending in the other House. During the various polls which we took during the time the fight for the bills was on, we found sentiment decidedly changing in our favor. Had the session lasted but one day longer we could have gotten the bill through the Senate, as we had twenty of the thirty-four state senators pledged to vote "yes."

During 1917 my work centered in the drive for the Federal Amendment. Most of the petitions were sent to the congressional district chairmen direct from the office of the National Association, and when we met in Senator Stone's office at Washington during the National Suffrage Convention on December 12, 1917 for a hearing before the Missouri Delegation in Congress on the Federal Amendment, the two large bundles of petitions, one from the state and one from St. Louis, looked very impressive. The Congressmen present could not help but feel that the wish of their constituents "back home" for a submissal and vote on the Federal Amendment, was very earnest indeed.

Late in 1917, the National Association urged the formation of a House Committee on Woman Suffrage Committee and the Missouri members on the Rules Committee were showered with letters and telegrams urging them to do their best to secure a favorable report. After the committee had reported the resolution favorably, we turned to the Missouri delegation in Congress. Our men did well—ten voting "aye," two "no;" three did not vote. We are greatly indebted to Speaker Champ Clark for the great help he gave us in getting our delegation lined up and in generally furthering the standing committee.

Even after the Federal petitions had been presented to the Missouri Delegation our workers kept up a constant stream of telegrams and letters and the Missouri men were not permitted to forget what their constituents expected of them. On January 10, 1918 the great day came when the Susan B. Anthony Federal Suffrage Amendment came to a vote in the House and passed with two votes to spare. Fifteen of our Congressmen voted for the amendment, only one vote was cast against it.

This definitely completed one phase of the work of the State Congressional Chairman. During the months following, war legislation relegated to the background any but war measures, and the Senate held the Federal Amendment in Committee, although hopes ran high that the 65th Congress would pass it.

In the meantime the state organization was busily sending letters and questionnaires to the successful candidates at the state primaries urging them to vote for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment when it should come up for ratification.

Suffrage delegations appeared both before the Democratic and Republican State Conventions which were held in August, 1918, the former at Jefferson City and the latter at Saint Louis, and urged the adoption of suffrage planks which were incorporated in both platforms. The National American Woman Suffrage Association's plans for the Federal Amendment ratification included the circulating of petitions among the members of the Fiftieth General Assembly for Missouri, and thousands of signatures were secured for presentation to the members.

A large number of letters and telegrams were sent, especially to Senators Reed and Stone, although Senator Stone, and after his death, Senator Wilfley were pledged to vote for the Federal Amendment. After the November elections in 1918, Senator Spencer succeeded Senator Wilfley; Senator Spencer was a strong suffragist and cast his vote for the amendment when it was finally permitted to be voted upon in the Senate on February 10, 1919, just a year and a month after it had passed the House. It was defeated in the Senate by one vote and lost in the 65th Congress.

Work was immediately taken up with the new members of Congress in order to line them up for ratification when the Susan B. Anthony Amendment should come up for ratification in the 66th Congress. Letters and telegrams were sent to the members; they were interviewed by delegations of their constituents, both men and women, and everything possible was done to obtain a solid Missouri vote on the amendment. When the House voted on May 26, 1919 Missouri's 16 Congressmen went over the top; the vote in the House was 308 "ayes" to 91 "noes." The Senate voted upon and passed the Federal suffrage amendment on June 4, 1919 by a vote of 56 "ayes" to 25 "noes;" 15 being paired.

"THE MISSOURI WOMAN"

BY MISS MARY SEMPLE SCOTT

From the beginning of the second period of suffrage history in 1910, there was great difficulty in getting space in the papers for suffrage news. The suffragists were continually obliged to do something spectacular in order to be mentioned. This was felt to be a great drawback to the cause; moreover the leaders were women who abhorred the sensational. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, through the influence of its progressive editor, George C. Johns, had proved more advanced in this respect than other papers. Often letters from suffragists were printed in its "column for the people," and, when occasion warranted, strong pro-suffrage editorials would appear on its editorial page. This paper, however, for a long time was an exception.

By 1913 other leading dailies in St. Louis and Kansas City were giving their support to suffrage as well as several weeklies, and in the spring of 1914 the St. Louis Times allowed the women to get out a special suffrage edition of the Times which we sold from automobiles on all the prominent downtown street corners. At this time also a suffrage edition of the Warrensburg Daily Star and one of the Kansas

City Post were gotten out by the women. During the 1914 Initiative campaign Miss Clara Somerville for St. Louis and Mrs. Emily Newell Blair for the state, handled suffrage publicity so well that a great advance in popularity with editors was made. Still, the sort of constructive propaganda that would constantly make sentiment for suffrage was almost entirely barred, and we were sadly in need of better and more frequent publicity when, in 1915, an offer was made by a newspaper man in Monett, Mo., to publish a suffrage magazine. He agreed to print it monthly; the suffragists agreed to furnish material for its columns, and to work up the subscription lists. It was to be called THE MISSOURI WOMAN.

The first edition resembled a newspaper more than a magazine. It was printed on newsprint, 11x15 inches in size, and the pages were five columns wide. However, it was greeted with great enthusiasm by all who were active in suffrage work because they understood the great value of such a publication. All went well for a few months. The circulation reached about eight hundred. Then the publisher failed.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair of Carthage, first editor of the MISSOURI WOMAN, Miss Mary E. Bulkley, its moving spirit, and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association, the three most concerned in starting the magazine, were in despair. However, after a brief period, through the efforts of Miss Bulkley and Mr. Percy Werner, Mr. Flint Garrison of St. Louis became interested. Mr. Garrison was the president of the Garrison-Wagner Printing Company, and president and editor-in-chief of a flourishing publication called "The Drygoodsman." He was also an ardent suffragist. He saw at once the possibilities of such a magazine as the MISSOURI WOMAN, and agreed to undertake its publication for a limited time to try out the idea.

In December, 1915, the first number of volume 2 of the MISSOURI WOMAN, with the picture of Mrs. Elliott Major, then the first lady of Missouri, on its cover, came off the press. It consisted of twenty pages, 9x13 inches and carried articles by some of the cleverest women in the state. The contributing editors of the magazine were: Elizabeth Waddell, Rosa Rusell Ingels, Mary E. Bulkley, F. Pearle Mitchell, Martha Taaffe, Laura Runyon, Carolyn Sproul, Mary Asbury McKay, Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing, Katherine Lincoln Motley, Helen L. Million, Mabel Miller, Mrs. C. W. Greene, Mrs. Edwin Knapp, Mrs. L. T. Herndon, Mrs. W. W. Martin, Mrs. Frank P. Hays.

Knowing the advisability of getting suffrage news before the club women, and knowing that they were considering starting a paper of their own, Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Blair and Miss Bulkley, all prominent club women themselves, induced the the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs to adopt the MISSOURI WOMAN as their official organ. Later, the Missouri Branch of the National Congress of Mothers' and Parent-Teachers' Associations endorsed the magazine. This gave the MISSOURI WOMAN the backing of three important women's organizations, and its Advisory Board consisted of the presidents of these organizations, who were, that first year: Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Mrs. Wm. R. Chivvis, Mrs. J. M. McBride.

Although Mrs. Emily Newell Blair continued to be the editor, she found it increasingly difficult to perform this work efficiently from her home in Carthage when the magazine was being published in St. Louis. Therefore, in April, 1916, when one of the St. Louis suffragists, Mary Semple Scott, came forward with an offer to help, Mrs. Blair urged that Miss Scott be installed as editor with a desk in the printing company's office, and she sent in her resignation. At the annual State Convention held in Springfield the next, Mrs. Blair introduced Miss Scott as her successor, and the latter returned to St. Louis to continue as editor of the magazine throughout the remainder of its useful existence.

Because of the National Democratic Convention, held in St. Louis in June, 1916, Miss Scott made a big effort to produce an issue of the magazine which would impress the public. Wm. Byrnes, a well-known artist on the Post-

Dispatch, designed a cover which attracted the attention of suffrage sympathizers all over the country, and Marguerite Martin, also noted as a Post-Dispatch writer and artist, illustrated in her inimitable way a story by Emily Newell Blair. The editors of the St. Louis dailies contributed editorials so that a most impressive symposium on the inevitableness of suffrage by Lewis B. Ely, Gasper Yost, Paul W. Brown, as well as a charming article by Wm. Marion Reedy of Reedy's Mirror, delighted the reader. An edition of 10,000 was sold at the book stalls and by volunteers who acted as "newsies" during the convention. The St. Louis department stores advertised generously in this number, and, for the first time, the MISSOURI WOMAN earned enough to pay its printing bill.

During the summer months the magazine showed signs of becoming popular so that it was deemed advisable to put it on a permanent business basis. In September, 1916, a stock company was formed under the name, The Missouri Woman Co., with Flint Garrison as president, Mary Semple Scott, vice-president and secretary, and George M. Wagner, treasurer. This company was incorporated for $5,000. Half the stock was taken up by the officers above mentioned, principally by Mr. Garrison, and the remainder was sold in small blocks to women and men interested in suffrage.

The circulation having reached the coveted five-thousand mark late in the fall of 1916, an effort was made to secure the endorsement of the St. Louis Retailers' Association, so that advertising could be solicited from individual retailers, and this was obtained in December, just one year after the first issue came from the St. Louis office. At this time Mrs. Julia Shipley Carroll was added to the staff as business manager, and, during the next six months, she brought the advertising up to the point of almost paying the expense of publication.

When the United States entered the war and a Missouri Women's Division of the Council of National Defense was formed, the editor of the MISSOURI WOMAN offered a department in the magazine for the use of that organization, and asked Mrs. B. F. Bush, its president, to become a member of the Advisory Board of the magazine. Throughout the entire period of the war the MISSOURI WOMAN devoted from two to five pages to Council of Defense propaganda and news, and it donated another page to war advertising, the copy for which was received from the Department of Advertising of the Council of National Defense.

March, 1919, brought to St. Louis the National American Woman Suffrage Convention to celebrate its golden jubilee. It was during this convention that the Presidential Suffrage Bill was passed by the Missouri Senate; and the Legislative Committee, having left the "Inquiry Dinner" Tuesday night for Jefferson City to see the measure through, returned dramatically on Friday to join in the victory mass meeting at the Odeon. It was then that the MISSOURI WOMAN received full credit for the sentiment it had created for suffrage throughout the state; for the friends it had made for the cause; for the good work it had done in keeping members of the Legislature reminded month by month of the increasing desire of their constituents that the women of Missouri be enfranchised. At this convention, too, the MISSOURI WOMAN was recognized by the National American Woman Suffrage Association through the editor of its own official organ, Miss Rose Young, who highly commended its work and who allowed it to be sold in combination with the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Following upon the passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill came the special session of the State Legislature, July 3, to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The July issue of the MISSOURI WOMAN chronicled this great event and used on its front cover the photograph of Governor Gardner signing the Ratification measure surrounded by a group of suffragists.

But this seemed to mark the high-tide of usefulness of the MISSOURI WOMAN. At the State Board meeting of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association in August the opinion was expressed that the great need for an official suffrage organ had passed; that the need of the future lay in wider publicity through the daily and weekly press.

The State Convention in October proved more convincingly than ever that this was true. Whereas in the old days it had been impossible to get our news into the papers, at this time it was impossible to keep it out. Reporters listened eagerly to every word of our opinions; our leaders were accurately photographed; everything we did was featured—and not on the Woman's Page, but in the general news.

The climax seemed logical and natural.

The stockholders of the MISSOURI WOMAN voted to discontinue publication; not to consider selling to any other publication, but to give its subscription lists, and to transfer its advertising as far as possible to the WOMAN CITIZEN the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association—a publication whose aims and purpose are the same as our own.

The announcement of the merger of the MISSOURI WOMAN with the WOMAN CITIZEN was made by the editor at the State Convention in October, 1919, which was held to transform the old Suffrage Association into the Missouri League of Women Voters. At this convention plans were being laid to educate the electorate through citizenship schools. The days when we were mere women struggling for the ballot had passed; we were then voters striving to learn to use the ballot for the betterment of mankind. This change for the magazine came at a time when many other changes were coming to all women, and, in bringing about these changes, the MISSOURI WOMAN had played no small part.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF KANSAS CITY

BY MRS. HENRY N. ESS

The Susan B. Anthony Suffrage League was formed in the autumn of 1914, with the following officers: Mrs. Henry N. Ess, president; Mrs. Massie Jones Ragan, first vice-president; Mrs. Julia M. Johnson, second vice-president; Mrs. George B. Collins, recording secretary; Mrs. E. T. B. Platt, treasurer; and Mrs. M. J. Payne, auditor. From the very first this organization seemed to be imbued with the spirit of the peerless leader for whom it was named.

The membership of the League was largely made up of mature women trained by long activity in club organization. The first step was a program for good citizenship, the subject so popular today, the whole year's meeting being devoted to a study of municipal government. Speakers of expert knowledge in the various departments of the city government appeared on the program from time to time.

In 1914 the Susan B. Anthony League made application for membership in the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the same being presented by its President, who for years had been a member of the State Board. Up to this time the Missouri State Federation had never discussed nor considered woman's suffrage, it being construed to be in direct violation of the by-laws which barred all questions of a political or religious nature. The application was made at a Board meeting held in Farmington. At that time very few members of the Board of Managers of the State Federation were avowed suffragists, consequently it required considerable courage to champion an unpopular cause, but after much discussion, the sense of justice and fairness, which is characteristic of club women generally, prevailed, and the Susan B. Anthony League went on record as the first suffrage organization in the state to be admitted to membership in the State Federation of Women's Clubs. From that time on, the door was open to other suffrage clubs.

The most important work undertaken by the club was the movement for the reform of our Missouri Penitentiary. In the early part of the fall of 1916, many reports from the penitentiary revealed a condition most revolting; a system of management more in harmony with the spirit of the Middle Ages than that of the progressive age in which we live. Certainly the hour had struck for the beginning of this movement. A committee was formed of delegates from Kansas City organizations as follows: City Club, Mr. Osborne; Rotary Club, Mr. Fred Dickey; Commercial Club, Mr. E. M. Clendenning; Social Workers' Conference, Mr. Frank

Lauder; Board of Public Welfare, Miss Eva Marquis; Atheneum, Mrs. W. L. Plattenburg; Woman's Trade Union League, Mrs. Louise Dohler; Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. George Cohen; Church Federation, Mrs. Nat Spencer; Young Men's Hebrew Association, Mr. Jacob Billikopf; Ministers' Alliance, Dr. Wylie; Collegiate Alumnae, Mrs. Alfred Hemingway; W. C. T. U., Mrs. Fannie Taylor; Catholic Women's League, Mrs. McClintock; First Congregational Church, Mrs. Doane; Westminster Church, Mrs. Hal Whitehead; Mrs. H. N. Ess, Mrs. M. J. Ragan, Mrs. M. H. DeVault, Mrs. C. C. Clarke and Mrs. M. J. Payne from the Susan B. Anthony League. The organization of the Committee resulted in the election of the following officers: Mrs. H. N. Ess, president; Mrs. Nat Spencer, first vice-president; Dr. J. M. Wylie, second vice-president; Mr. Frank Lauder, third vice-president; Mrs. C. C. Clarke, secretary; and Mrs. M. J. Payne, treasurer.

This being the year for the election of a new governor, an active campaign was started to line up every county in the state in behalf of the reform movement. The hearty co-operation from every city and town in the state evidenced the fact that the time had come for a change in the management of our colossal state prison. Thousands of leaflets were sent out with the slogan "The Contract System Must Go!" Each candidate for governor was interviewed and asked to take a stand on the question. The Prison Reform League insisted that reform of prison was not a political question, asserting that the penitentiary problem should be taken in a non-partisan spirit.

Immediately after the election of Governor Gardner to office, the following committee of women: Mrs. M. L. Plattenburg, Mrs. Hal Whitehead, Mrs. Masie Jones Ragan, Mrs. Charles Clarke, Mrs. Doane and Mrs. Henry N. Ess, also Mrs. Phillip W. Moore, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. G. A. V. Meachum, president of the Council of Clubs of St. Louis, joined this party in St. Louis to have a conference with him, before taking office—a most unusual occurrence, a body of women interviewing the Governor concerning his future policy on an important matter. He was most cordial in his reception of the women, and assured them that he would make the reform of the penitentiary his chief aim. He at once called together representatives from all parts of the state to meet in St. Louis the 25th of November, 1916, to counsel together on the needed program to present to the legislature when it convened in January. The women managed to have Colonel Tom Lynan, warden of the Colorado Penitentiary, a famous prison expert, to come to St. Louis to speak to the conference the very first morning. The deliberations of this meeting crystallized into a sane, definite program to be brought to the Legislature for action.

Governor Gardner was a strong champion of the movement through all of its days of discussion in the body of the Legislature. The work done by the committee of legislators appointed at the conference in St. Louis will ever mark a turn in the history of the lawmakers of Missouri in behalf of a reform in prison management. Some splendid laws were placed on our statute books, the chief being the law to create a Board of Control of three members. This board was to have the sole control of the management of the penitentiary.

Many changes have been made in the management of the penitentiary in the last two years; a good beginning has been made; but the Susan B. Anthony League is still active in behalf of social conditions.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WARRENSBURG

BY MISS LAURA L. RUNYON

In the fall of 1911, Miss Laura L. Runyon, teacher of History in the State Normal School, finding several other women interested in Woman Suffrage, organized the Political Equality Club of Warrensburg. This club has met continuously since that time, during the months of October to June, sometimes twice a month, sometimes monthly. The meetings have usually been held at the home of Mrs. J. D. Eads, except the June meeting, which was usually of a social nature, and held at the home of Mrs. Virginia Hedges. The meetings have been of a civic, literary and social nature. The Club undertook to secure the signatures to petitions asked for from time to time, to do work of an educational character thru the town and county. From time to time they secured noted speakers to address the club and the town, throwing these meetings open freely to the town. Miss Laura Gregg and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller were among the speakers.

From the beginning men were admitted as honorary members, and many men paid their dues and assisted the club in various ways. Last spring, with the assistance of Miss Marie B. Ames, a Men's Advisory Club was formed. The club got out two editions—suffrage editions—of the Warrensburg Daily Star, held mass meetings and a great parade, and in various ways "advertised" Suffrage.

In the fall of 1919 a School of Citizenship was held, under Miss Mary A. Kennedy, which proved a great success. On October 4th, at the close of the school, the Political Equality Club was merged in the League of Women Voters.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN COLUMBIA

BY MRS. ROSA RUSSELL INGELS

Suffrage for women held an important place in the thought and conversation on many Columbians long before there was any movement toward organization. The first formal meeting was held in the Athens Hotel, November 16, 1912, with Prof. Manly O. Hudson acting chairman and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller presenting the subject. At this meeting officers were elected and a constitution and by-laws drafted. This early league was not confined to women, as is evidenced by the historic fact that the first president and three members of the executive committee were men.

In any movement it is instructive to consider the kind of people who are behind it. That was a proud company which started woman suffrage in Columbia and their names are an honor to the cause. The first president was Dr. R. H. Jesse, former president of the University, the first vice-president was Mrs. Luella Wilcox St. Clair, president of Christian College, and the first chairman of the executive committee was Mrs. Walter McNab Miller. This committee included two women at that time members of the State Board of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, also the state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Other members of the group were departmental deans of the University, teachers and business men.

Public programs were given thru the years 1913 and 1914. As a part of the propaganda work, a suffrage talk was gven before every woman's organization in Columbia. However, the very first public presentation of the subject to the women of Columbia was given by Mrs. Rosa Russell Ingels, before the Tuesday Club, in March, 1912. Perhaps the best remembered early program was one arranged by Dr. Max Myer of the psychology department of the University, when ten well-known men and women entertained and enlightened a "big house" by telling them "Why I Believe in Woman Suffrage." At this stage of the movement, a favorite method of presentation and argument was this of telling from the platform "Why I Believe In" or "Why I Am for Woman Suffrage."

Another never-to-be-forgotten evening was when Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, and Mrs. Desha Breckenridge of Kentucky spoke to a great audience in April, 1913. Miss Martin's instructive and historic facts, and Mrs. Breckenridge's "burning words of moving eloquence" mark a milestone in Columbia's suffrage history. Other distinguished women who spoke for the Columbia group, about this time, were Dorothy Dix and Jane Addams.

During two successive summers, open-air meetings were held by University women. At the first in 1913, Dean Charters presided and Miss Louise Nardin made the address; on the second occasion Dr. Max Myer presided and the speakers were Dr. Eva Johnson and Mrs. F. F. Stephens. Again, during the campaign of 1914, a great mass meeting was held in the University auditorium with several short, strong speeches.

A number of notable dinners and luncheons were given on occasions when distinguished suffrage leaders were guests in Columbia. Their functions brought together our best men and women, both town and gown, making brilliant social occasions where eloquent speakers spread suffrage propaganda.

Columbia suffragists of that early day who visited the Missouri Legislature on behalf of woman suffrage were Dr. Jesse, Mrs. St. Clair Moss, Mrs. F. F. Stephens, Miss Pearl Mitchell, Mrs. W. P. Dysart, Mrs. W. E. Harshe and Mrs. Rosa Russell Ingels. In the campaign of 1914, the women of Columbia, led by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, worked heroically over the petitions and at the polls. In the campaign of 1916, suffrage speakers were sent to political meetings throughout the country. In October, 1918, a number of Columbia women sent telegrams to Senator Wilfley requesting him to vote for the Federal Amendment.

Suffrage in Columbia, just now, concerns itself with Citizenship schools and courses of lectures on the principles of government and political history and methods. In July 1919, the first lecture which was given at Read Hall and planned for thirty women, was attended by sixty women. Among the women who belonged to the first active group and are working in the Citizenship schools today are Miss Ella V. Dobbs, Mrs. F. F. Stephens, Mrs. Luella St. Clair Moss and Mrs. Rosa Russell Ingels. Suggestive of the modern citizenship school was a study class which was organized and active during the presidency of Mrs. W. E. Harshe.

During the last eight years, many able men and women have served the cause of woman suffrage in Columbia. The Columbia League has given to the work one state president and has always been represented on the State Board. The present active chairmen are: County chairman, Mrs. J. J. Phillips; Columbia League chairman, Mrs. J. E. Wrench; chairman of Citizenship schools, Miss Ella V. Dobbs, with subchairmen, Mrs. Guy L. Noyes, Mrs. J. P. McBaine and Mrs. C. C. Bowling.

ST. LOUIS BUSINESS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

BY MISS FLORENCE E. WEIGLE

On April 16, 1912, about sixty business women, interested in the suffrage question, met at a luncheon at Vandervoort's to discuss the organization of a business women's suffrage club which should have for its object the securing of suffrage for the women in Missouri. Mrs. D. W. Knefler presided at this meeting and Miss Sophia M. Rombauer acted as secretary. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws. A second meeting was called for a week later, at which the proposed constitution and by-laws were adopted. At the third meeting, held on May 7, 1912, the following officers were elected for the first year: president, Miss Mary Maguire; vice-president, Miss Jessie Moller; secretary, Miss Rena Huber; treasurer, Miss Mary McDearmon. An executive board was selected a couple of weeks later, as follows: Misses Razovsky, Tierney, Cranmer and Phillips, and Dr. Stephens.

With its organization completed, the Business Women's Equal Suffrage League was launched on its career of usefulness. Much is due to the earnest endeavors of the women who worked so faithfully during the early years of the League, among them being: the Misses Rombauer, Charlotte Rumbold, Margaret Burke, Jessie Moller, Dr. Stevens, Alberta Allen, Alma Gibson Robb, Cecelia Razovsky, Genevieve Tierney, Mathilda and Bertha Meinhardt.

The League since its organization has carried out a two-fold program: one of its regular meetings is a dinner, at which some interesting speaker discusses a live topic of general interest; the other of its bi-weekly meetings is devoted to the study of politics and this meeting is open to the public generally.

The name has recently been changed to "Business and Professional League of Women Voters."

Early Explorations and Settlements of Missouri and Arkansas, 1803-1822

BY CARDINAL L. GOODWIN

Thomas Jefferson was the first great American to become thoroughly interested in the country west of the Mississippi. As early as November 26, 1782, after speaking in a letter to Mr. Steptoe of the probability of obtaining some big bones, he suggested various inquiries which it might be profitable to make. "Descriptions of animals, vegetables, minerals, or other curious things; notes as to the Indians' information of the country between the Mississippi and the South Sea, etc., etc., will strike your mind as worthy of being communicated. I wish you had more time to pay attention to them."[1]

While sitting in the Confederate Congress at Annapolis a year later—December 4, 1783—Jefferson wrote to George Rogers Clark, again mentioning the teeth, tusks, and bones of the mammoth which that intrepid westerner had promised to secure for him, but finally coming to what one writer terms "so far as is known, the first definite suggestion of an American expedition to the Pacific by an overland route."[2] "I find," he wrote, "they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. They pretend it is only to promote knowledge. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter. Some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making the attempt to search that country, but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. How would you like to lead such a party? tho I am afraid the prospect is not worth asking the question."[3]

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[1] Ford, Paul L. (Editor) *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 10 vols., N. Y.' 1892-99. Vol. III, 62.

[2] Schafer, Joseph, *The Pacific Slope and Alaska*, Vol. X in *The History of North America*, 41.

[3] Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*. In 7 vols., each volume divided into two parts and each part bound separately. Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y., 1904-1905. Vol. VII, Part I, p. 193.

Three years later in Paris Jefferson was encouraging Ledyard to go to Kamtchatka by land, thence to cross "to the western side of America and penetrate through the continent to our side of it, or to go to Kentucky and thence penetrate westwardly to the South sea."[4] The attempt failed despite Ledyard's conscientious efforts to prosecute it, because the Russian government interfered. In 1790 Captain John Armstrong of Louisville, at the suggestion of the Secretary of War, General Knox, undertook to cross the continent by way of the Missouri, but he was turned back a short distance above St. Louis by reports of disturbances among the Indians. Two years later Andre Michaux, a French botanist, proposed an expedition to the Pacific, the same to be conducted under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. Jefferson gave the proposal his hearty support, but Michaux became entangled in Genet's plans for conquering Spanish Louisiana, and the former's western project terminated with the events of 1794 which brought the Genet mission to such a sudden end.[5]

But these abortive schemes for exploring the Trans-Mississippi West, while discouraging, were not sufficiently so to cause Jefferson to abandon the project. After he was elected President his attempts were more successful. On January 18, 1803, he proposed an expedition and outlined plans for it in a confidential message to Congress. "An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms and accoutrements, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on whether here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery... in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe it to the same object, as well as to its own interests, to explore this the only line of communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own part of it.... The appropriation of $2,500 'for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States,' while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way."[6]

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[4] Ford (Ed.) *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. IV, 298, 447-48, and Vol, V, 75.

[5] Schafer, *The Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 43-44.

Congress passed a bill complying with Jefferson's recommendations for sending out an exploring expedition into the newly acquired territory, and Captain Meriwether Lewis, a young man under thirty years old, was selected to head the enterprise. Lewis was Jefferson's private secretary. He was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in the vicinity of the Blue Ridge, and had inherited sterling qualities from a race of worthy patriots and vigorous pioneers. His father and uncle had served in the Revolutionary War, and he himself had been accustomed to the life of the hunter and woodsman, and had rendered military service in the Northwest under the leadership of Mad Anthony Wayne. Jefferson considered him a man of exceptional courage, "possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded by exact observations of the vegetables and animals of his own country against losing time in the descriptions of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves—with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by Nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him."[7] But in order to acquire additional technical training in botany and astronomy, which an expedition such as he was to lead demanded, he went to Philadelphia and studied under the direction of some of the learned members of the Philosophical Society. While there he also directed the manufacture of arms for his party in the arsenal at Lancaster.

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[6] Richardson, James D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897.* **Published by authority of Congress, 1900. Vol. I, 353-54.**

Complying with the suggestion made by Lewis the officials at Washington decided to associate with him another officer of equal authority, so that the party could operate effectually in two divisions, if the occasion should require it. He was permitted to select his own companion and chose William Clark of Louisville, the younger brother of George Rogers Clark. William Clark, like Lewis, was an army officer who had seen trying service against the Indians of the Northwest. He had traveled extensively in the country, having on several occasions crossed the Mississippi. He was in every respect admirably suited to share with Lewis the responsibilities and labors of such an undertaking as the government had decided upon. Lewis ranked as a captain while Clark's commission gave him the rank of second lieutenant of artillery, but the former insisted on regarding the latter as his official equal, both being styled as captain by all who were connected with the expedition. During the three strenuous years of western explorations their respect for each other deepened and their friendship strengthened.

The object of the expedition was outlined by Jefferson in his instructions to Lewis dated May and June, 1803. Not only was the Missouri River to be explored, but "such principal streams of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, or Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce." The party was to take observations fixing the latitude and longitude of all important places along the rivers traversed, and of all the portages between their headwaters. The leaders were ordered to keep careful notes, and other members of the expedition were encouraged to keep diaries. The names and numbers of the various Indian tribes were to be learned, and all conditions tending to promote trade and harmony between them and the Americans were to be noted. Careful observations were to be made of the soils, animal and vegetable life, minerals, geological remains, and of the geography of the region. Should they reach the Pacific Ocean they were to determine "whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri... as at Nootka Sound or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and the United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised." Furthermore Lewis was to try to find some vessel by which he could send back by two members of his party the information collected. Or, if he thought it advisable, the entire party might return by sea, in which case Lewis was to make use of an open letter of credit, furnished by Jefferson, pledging the the faith of the United States for the repayment of such sums as might be advanced to the explorers. The safety of the party was not to be endangered, however, for the sake of collecting information.[8]

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[7] *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 25-26.

Lewis left Washington for Pittsburg about the middle of the summer of 1803, and on the last day of August began the descent of the Ohio. Volunteers were enlisted at several military stations along the Ohio and the Mississippi. When completed the party contained a total of thirty-two people, and sixteen others were employed to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan villages. The winter was spent in quarters on a little stream, the Dubois or Wood River, which empties into the Mississippi from the east side. Here the men were drilled and trained for the arduous experiences which they were about to undergo.

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[8] Ford, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 194ff.

On the fourteenth of May, 1804, the expedition entered the Missouri and began the long voyage up that river. The difficulties and dangers of the journey were recognized by all who were connected with it from the beginning, but they believed also that it would confer high honors on them and on the nation if it were carried out successfully. The importance of the expedition was likewise realized by the people living along the Missouri. The people of St. Louis and of St. Charles, and many others who recently had migrated thither from east of the Mississippi manifested a deep interest in the small company as it made its way up the tortuous stream. On the twenty-fifth of May the party passed the extreme western settlement. This was La Charette, a little village of seven houses, near which Daniel Boone lived.[9] Thence the journey was through the Indian country; and occasionally during the early stage of their passage up the Missouri they met traders who were bringing down boatloads of furs from the Kansas, the Platte, and the Sioux. Near the present town of Sibley, Missouri, a fort was erected and named Fort Clark in honor of one of the leaders of the expedition.[10] Continuing up the river they came to a place named by them Council Bluff where they held a great conference with several Indian tribes. They passed the present site of Sioux City on the twentieth of August, where they experienced their only loss by death, and at the end of October they reached the Mandan villages. They spent the winter at this place.

Here, near the present town of Bismarck, North Dakota, Fort Mandan was erected from cottonwood logs found growing along the river banks. Five months were spent hunting, preparing reports and collecting information to be sent back to the President in the spring, cultivating friendly relations with the Indians, and completing preparations for the westward movement. Early in April, 1805, the river having become clear of ice, a boat was sent downstream bearing dispatches for the officials at Washington while the main party headed their expedition up the Missouri. Toward the end of the month they reached the mouth of the Yellowstone. From the natives of that section they collected information on the source, direction, and length of the river, and the character of the country through which it flowed. Game was found in greater abundance than they had before experienced, and the large number of beaver in the vicinity led them to suggest that some spot near the junction of the two rivers would be a desirable location for a trading post. The Falls of the Missouri were reached in June, and on the twenty-fifth of that month they arrived at the three forks of the same river. The three rivers were explored and named after the three great statesmen of that day—Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin. Up the Jefferson they toiled, weary, footsore, and some of them almost exhausted, finally reaching the mountains on the last of August. Horses were procured from the Shoshone Indians, parties of whom were found in the vicinity, and they pushed onward toward the navigable waters of the Columbia system. They reached this by following the Lola trail to the Clearwater, after three weeks of toilsome marching through dense woods and shady defiles, and over what must have seemed to them to be numberless obstructions of rock and fallen timber. From the Clearwater they made their way to the Snake River, down that to the Columbia, past the Great Falls, the Dalles, and the Cascades to the tide water. On the seventh of November, 1805, the party reached the Pacific.

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[9] The village had disappeared when Bradbury was there in 1811, because of the encroachments of the river. It was near the preent town of Marthasville, in Warren County. See Bradbury, John, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811*, etc. (Vol. V in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*) 42, note 15.

[10] McDougal, H. C., "Historical Sketch of Kansas City from the Beginning to 1909." In the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1909, 12-13.

In 1808 the name Fort Clark was changed to Fort Osage in honor of the Indian tribe of that name. For another account of this Fort see Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, V. 61, note 31.

Here they spent the winter in the most humid section of the Oregon coast where the supply of game was not abundant, but the members of the expedition continued to enjoy good health. Early in the spring of 1806 they began moving eastward, and on the twenty-third of September following the entire party entered St. Louis. They had recrossed the mountains by the same general route but had made more extensive explorations of considerable importance off the general trail. They had opened a practical route across the continent, they had established a strong claim for the valley of the Columbia, and they had become the pioneers of a westward movement which ultimately was to carry the customs and institutions of the United States across the great plains and over the rocky plateau until it gave the nation a frontage on the Pacific slope similar to the one it had already on the Atlantic coast.

Before these intrepid frontiersmen had begun their transcontinental explorations, however, settlers from the United States had crossed to the west side of the Mississippi and occupied land among the French and Spanish who had preceded them. Some of the earliest of the Franco-Spanish settlements have been noted already. One of the oldest, in fact the oldest within the present state of Missouri, was Ste. Genevieve, established as early as 1735. In 1803 it comprised a district bounded on the north by the Meramec River and on the south by Apple Creek, which forms the present southern boundary of Perry County. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase settlements had been made in the district along the Mississippi, in the valleys of the St. Francois and the Big rivers, and in the mining district.[11]

In 1801, following his inauguration as president, Jefferson appointed William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi Territory. Claiborne made the trip from Nashville by boat down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. Upon his arrival at Natchez in November, he wrote Madison regarding the country through which he had passed. "On the western or Spanish shore," he said, "there are but three petty settlements between the mouth of the Ohio and the post of Concord, opposite this place, an interval of some eight hundred miles. Seventy miles below the junction of the Ohio is the village of New Madrid, with a small Spanish garrison. Here I halted for an hour and paid my respects to the commandant, who received me with much courtesy. The fort has been recently burned. There are probably fifty houses occupied chiefly by people of French extraction. I was informed that, a few miles in the interior, there was a compact and prosperous settlement, the inhabitants for the most part, from the United States." Down the river from New Madrid, a distance of thirty-five miles, was a small village of twenty houses, and one hundred and fifty miles below New Madrid, opposite the lower Chickasaw Bluff, was a small block house garrisoned by a sergeant and twelve men. This was the Spanish post of Esperanza.[12]

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[11] Viles, Jonas, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804" in the *Missouri Historical Review*, 1910-1911 (Vol. V), 187-213.

Soon after 1780 Canadian hunters and fur traders had made their headquarters at L'Ainse a la Graise, the present site of New Madrid, and by 1787 a few had established permanent settlements there. Two years later General Morgan made elaborate provisions for the establishment of an American colony at the same place, but the scheme failed largely through the interference of Wilkinson. Ultimately however, a number of Americans came into the country as a result of Morgan's work at this time. The location of the earliest settlements was determined by the facilities for hunting and for trading with the Indians. but after the appearance of the American farmer the character of the soil and the convenience for communication were the determining factors. In 1804, with one exception, the settlers of the New Madrid district were within a few miles of the Mississippi between New Madrid and Little Prairie, or at the present town of Caruthersville, in the southeastern part of Missouri, with an outlying trading station on the St. Francois, the present village of Portageville. Between New Madrid and the mouth of the Ohio the banks of the Mississippi were subject to overflow. At Bird's Point just across from the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and at Tywappity bottom just beyond, Americans had taken up scattering farms about ten or fifteen miles from the Mississippi. The important inland settlement in 1808 was on Big Prairie, "a long, narrow and very slightly elevated ridge stretching northward from the village of New Madrid as far as the present Sikeston in Scott county."[13]

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[12] Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens*, Jackson, Mississippi, 1880, 221-22. In this same letter Governor Claiborne suggests that the government should build additional forts along the river on the American side. "Our western commerce is now valuable and is rapidly increasing. On this great river navigation is dangerous. Boats are often stranded or sunk, or disabled by the illness of their crews, and except at Fort Pickering there are no stations where relief can be obtained. The immigrants, too, are greatly exposed. A few posts, to render aid, in such cases, with hospital stores for the sick, would greatly promote the commerce and the peopling of this remote iterrtory. The humanizing effect on the Indians of such stations would soon be felt." Ibid., 222.

Between New Madrid and Ste. Genevieve was the district of Cape Girardeau. The most prominent figure in the early history of this district was the Indian trader Louis Lorimier. He had moved into the country as early as 1792, and remained there throughout the Spanish period. The settlements established under the Spanish regime were located for the most part in the White River valley, chiefly within the eastern part and within the present boundaries of Cape Girardeau county, or in the alluvial districts south of there. Here the American settlers began to make their appearance in 1795. Their chief occupations were hunting, stock raising and farming. They lived, for the most part, in a compact territory about ten or twelve miles in width extending northward through the center of the present county "to the rougher country of Apple Creek and including the valleys of the Randall, Hubble, Cane and Byrd creeks, all in the White Water watershed."[14] Along the White Water proper, farther west, from the northern part of Scott county and particularly in the west central part of Cape Girardeau, lived a large number of Germans and German Swiss. At Zalma on the Castor and at Patterson on the St. Francois, sixty miles from the Mississippi, in the present county of Wayne, there were small groups of settlers. These were probably German.

North of the settlements indicated were the two districts of St. Louis and St. Charles. St. Louis was founded in

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[13] Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review*, 1910-1911 (Vol. V), 187-213.

[14] Ibid., 198.

February or March, 1764, by Pierre Liguest Laclede as a trading station for the Missouri River fur trade. It became a flourishing village after 1765 or 1766, when the French crossed over from the "American Bottom," the territory on the east bank of the Mississippi having been surrendered to the English. Just a little later a smaller village sprang up near the present Florissant, about twelve miles toward the northwest, and another on the Mississippi toward the south at Carondelet which is now within the city limits. While the boundaries of the district in 1804 were formed by the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Meramec, the settled area was confined to the present county of St. Louis. That part of the county fronting on the Missouri was occupied for some distance back from the river. There were also numerous settlers located in the forks of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and farther south the Meramec valley was occupied. Farther west on the Missouri there were outlying settlements at the present town of Washington and in the vicinity of Marthasville. The outlying settlements were American.

St. Charles contained the smallest population of any of the districts in Upper Louisiana, but it covered a greater extent of territory than any other. All of the provinces north of the Missouri River were included in it, even the Spanish grants at Prairie du Chien. Very few Americans had settled in the village by 1804. There were a great many in the outlying districts, however. They were particularly numerous along the Dardenne, a stream which flows parallel to the Missouri. There were also a few Americans on Perruque Creek, just north of the Dardenne, and a larger number some distance inland on the Cuivre River, on the northern boundary of the present county of St. Charles.

To summarize, settlers were to be found along the Mississippi from the present southeast corner of the state to New Madrid, and from the mouth of the Ohio northward to Cape Girardeau. In the lowlands between these points the only settled area of importance was the long, narrow ridge stretching north from New Madrid. In the town and along the river to the southward Americans and French lived side by side; the other settlements were largely American. The strip along the river from Cape Girardeau nearly to the Meramec was settled only at the mouth of the creeks and along their courses and in the bottoms at Ste. Genevieve and Bois Brule within the boundaries of the county of Perry. Except on the northern creeks the settlers were mostly French. In the rolling uplands of Cape Girardeau and Perry counties there were settlements which differed little from typical American settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. The lower Meramec was an American district, and between the Meramec and Missouri settlements had sprung up wherever there were water and timber. The Americans dominated on the Meramec and on the upper Missouri, but the French were in the majority in St. Louis. The two races mingled more or less over the rest of the district, the French usually outnumbering the Americans in the hamlets. In the section north of the Missouri the French were located in the villages of St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, and the Americans settled on the creeks flowing into the Mississippi and Missouri.

At this time, however, with the notable exception of New Madrid, the Americans were living in small groups on detached farms, and commerce and industry were almost entirely in the hands of the French. The French also dominated government and politics. The Americanization of Upper Louisiana had hardly begun despite the fact that the majority of the settlers were of American origin.[15]

There had been no particularly great increase in the number of settlers in this vicinity when Pike began his explorations of the Trans-Mississippi West in 1806. Commissioned by General Wilkinson to explore the sources of the Red River, Pike left St. Louis on July 15th with a company of twenty men. He made his way up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the Pawnee villages. In the meantine news of his expedition reached the Spanish officials, and Lieutenant Malgares was sent out from Santa Fe to intercept him. The Spaniards had come first to the Pawnee villages, and when

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[15] Ibid.

Pike arrived there, they had already turned back. Despite the great superiority of the Spanish forces the American commander determined to follow them, hoping thereby to reach the Red River. He came to Pawnee Rock on the Great Bend of the Arkansas and rode up that stream through droves of buffalo, deer, elk and wild horses until he finally reached the mountains. Near the present town of Pueblo, Colorado, he erected fortifications and explored the country. After a vain attempt to reach Pike's Peak, he began to search for the source of the Red River. The months of December and January spent in this way were most severe. The passes were filled with snow, game was scarce, guns burst with cold, the horses were exhausted, and the men were becoming mutinous, but Pike refused to abandon the quest. On Grape Creek at the foot of the Grand Canon of the Arkansas he decided to build a blockhouse, and there leave two of the men to look after the horses and luggage while with the main party he should cross the Sangre de Christo Range. In this desperate venture nine of his men had their feet frozen. The food supply which they carried with them was soon exhausted and game seemed to have left the country. The party was saved from starvation, after having been four days without food, when Pike managed to shoot a stray buffalo. Three of the men gave out and were left on the trail with a small supply of meat while the others struggled on. Finally having reached the summit of the range, they came to a brook which flowed west through a pass down into the San Louis valley. At last, Pike thought, he had reached the source of the Red River. He was instead on the headwaters of the Rio Grande, having become a trespasser on Spanish territory as soon as he crossed the Sangre de Christo Range. He did not know this at the time, however, and built a stockade on the west bank of the Rio Grande five miles above its junction with the Rio Conejos. While Pike with four soldiers remained at the stockade, a small detachment was sent back over their route to bring up the men and baggage left behind.

On the fifteenth of February, 1807, Pike was visited in his stockade by two Spaniards who reported his presence to the Spanish officials. Ten days later Captain Salteo appeared with one hundred mounted men and took the Americans to Santa Fe. After being examined there by Governor Allencaster, they were sent on to Chihuahua where they underwent another examination. The matter was finally settled by Salcedo determining to deport the Americans by way of Texas. A detachment of cavalry escorted the party southward around the Bolsom de Mapini, thence northeast over the "Grand Road" to San Antonio by way of the Presidio Rio Grande.[16]

The travels of Bradbury and Brackenridge covered a part of the territory which had been explored already by Lewis and Clark, and therefore may be omitted here.

Another adventurer who explored farther south about this time and whose work has been given but passing notice is Colonel John Shaw. Colonel Shaw was one of the early pioneers of Wisconsin, and a man whose integrity and honesty have been vouched for by some of his fellow countrymen. The editor of the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, Dr. Draper, through whose hands Colonel Shaw's narrative passed, tells us that it may be considered substantially correct. Colonel Shaw's account was written from memory when he was an old man, and therefore allowance must be made for dates. But the internal evidence of that part of his narrative outlined here will indicate that his explorations were made not only before the war of 1812, but pretty near the time he claims to have made them.

Colonel Shaw says that he spent the winter of 1808 in St. Louis and its vicinity. During the following spring, accompanied by Peter Spear and William Miller, he set out from the extreme western settlement of Cape Girardeau county on the headwaters of the St. Francois River for the Pacific Ocean. His route, he thinks, was very near the thirty-seventh parallel, or perhaps a half degree south of it. He crossed a branch of the White River which he claims to have named the Current. Proceeding westward he came to the Black, afterwards called the Spring, which stream he followed to its source. Crossing to the main fork of the White River he then made his way to the prairie country. He continued westward, he believed, beyond the headwaters of all the tributaries of the Mississippi except the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, a distance of about eight hundred miles or more. When within the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains he met three traders who were the survivors of a company of fifteen that had been trading among the Indians. Convinced that discretion was the better part of valor he then decided to retrace his steps.

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[16] Coues, Elliott, (Ed.) *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 3 vols., Francis P. Harper, 1895. Vol. II.

[17] Col. John Shaw, "Personal Narrative" in the Wisconsin Historical Society *Collections*, II, 197-232.

The autumn of 1809, the year 1810, and the winter of 1810 to 1811, Shaw spent hunting in eastern Kansas and western Missouri and Arkansas. During this period he collected "fifty beaver and otter skins, three hundred bear skins, and eight hundred gallons of bear oil." These were carried to the headwaters of the White River, transported in rudely constructed boats down that stream to the Mississippi and thence to New Orleans. He thought that these products would have brought him between two and three thousand dollars if he had been able to ship them to Europe. The "Embargo"[18] was in force, he said, and he was compelled to sell his commodities for thirty-six dollars.

On his return he passed through the Chickasaw and the Choctaw country to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee, thence to Vincennes, and finally to St. Louis. He was in the vicinity of New Madrid when the earthquakes occurred there, he claims, on December fourteenth, 1811, and February seventh, 1812. Soon after this he went to Prairie du Chien and made Wisconsin his home during the remainder of a long and useful life.

While Pike, Brackenridge, Shaw, and other American traders were exploring and opening fur trading posts in the country west of the Mississippi, the American settlements were moving slowly up the Missouri and its tributaries. There were two families living on the Gasconade in 1808. Two years later the Captain of the Militia in this district had two hundred and fifty on his muster roll.[19] The first settlement had been made at Loutre Island in 1807, and by 1811 a compact settlement had been established there and several families had moved out into the country west of the island. Cote sans Dessein, near the mouth of the Osage River, was settled in 1808; three years later a number of settlements had been formed at that point. The extreme western settlement of consequence on the Missouri in 1811, however, was in the territory known as the Boonslick area, a strip of country along the north side of the river, which derived its name from the salt factories operated in the district by the sons of Daniel Boone. The region was first occupied probably in 1810, but at the end of a year more than seventy-five families had moved into the territory. Kit Carson's father was among the early occupants of this part of the Missouri valley. Still further west, in the vicinity of Fort Osage, one settler had opened a farm before the War of 1812, and this continued to mark the extreme edge of western settlement even down to 1819.[20]

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[18] This was of course impossible if we accept the dates which he has given.

In the southern part of the Missouri territory, which later became the territory of Arkansas, the growth of settlement was not so rapid during the years preceding the second war for independence. There was, however, an annual increase of American immigrants beginning with the purchase of Louisiana by the United States. They occupied the fertile lands along the Mississippi, the Arkansas, and the White River valleys. The settlement along the lower valley of the Arkansas was somewhat impeded during this period on account of the difficulty the immigrant experienced in procuring land. The land south of the river was owned by the Quapaw Indians who could not sell; while that north of the same stream, extending from Arkansas Post to Argenta, was claimed by Elisha and Gabriel Winter, and Joseph Stilwell. These men had won the favor of Spanish officials and in 1798, as a reward for having introduced manufacturing at New Orleans it is said, they were given one million arpens of land. This they were willing to sell but the immigrants were afraid that the grantors could not give legal title to the soil. Yet this difficulty did not delay westward migration for any great length of time. The early frontiersmen were usually accustomed to occupy available lands and discuss their right of occupancy later. The result was that although many refused to buy from Winters and Stilwell, they did not hesitate to settle on soil claimed by these favorites of the Spanish regime. Later the judgment of these contenders was confirmed by the United States government when the legality of the Spanish grant was denied.[21]

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[19] Brackenridge, *Journal* (in Thwaites' Western Travels), 22.

[20] Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1908. Vol. III, 145-50.

The exploration and settlement of the West were checked temporarily as a result of the War of 1812, but immediately following that event both were renewed with vigor. From thirty to fifty wagons crossed the river at St. Louis daily, the majority of them coming from Tennessee and Kentucky. In 1814 the Indian title to land in the Boonslick country was extinguished, and in 1816 the country north and west of the Osage River was named Howard county. Franklin became the county seat in 1817. The rapid growth of this town resembled that of many others on the frontier. Within a year after it was laid out it contained one hundred and fifty houses and a population of eight hundred or a thousand people. The price of lots rose from fifty to six hundred dollars. The few people living in what became Cooper county had crossed the river during the war to seek the protection of forts there, but when peace was concluded they returned to the south bank of the Missouri, and with new immigrants formed extensive settlements in that section. The thirty families residing on the left bank of the Missouri above Cote sans Dessein, a settlement two miles below the mouth of the Osage River, increased to eight hundred by the arrival of immigrants during the next three years. In 1817

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[21] J. H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, 27.

Chariton did not exist; two years later it was a community of five hundred people. Even farther west into Carroll and Clay counties immigrants pushed their way and opened up farms.

While the frontiersmen were building homes along the Missouri still others were following up some of the tributaries of that stream and occupying the valleys and uplands in other parts of the territory. Settlers had moved south and industries had been established along the Gasconade when Long made his expedition in 1819. The country included within the boundaries of the present county of Maries was occupied. Immigrants came up the White River from Arkansas Territory and built houses near Springfield. Modern Forsyth, a little farther south, had been occupied when the Springfield settlers came. Still other home-seekers established themselves in the vicinity of Van Buren in Carter county during this same period. While these settlements multiplied in numbers the farms grew in size and became more prosperous. By 1820 cornfields of several hundred acres might be found growing in sections that had been practically unoccupied three or four years earlier.[22]

In the territory of Arkansas the comparative increase in population was even greater. The census of Missouri in 1810 shows a population of twenty thousand, eight hundred and forty-five. It increased to sixty-six thousand, five hundred and eighty-six during the next ten years, or a total addition of forty-five thousand, seven hundred and forty-one during the decade ending in 1820. Or to put it another way, more than twice as many people came to Missouri during the decade ending in 1820 as were found there at the beginning of that period. The total population in Arkansas in 1810 was one thousand and sixty-two.[23] Ten years later it had increased to fourteen thousand, two hundred and seventy-three. That is, the population of the territory had increased more than twelve times during the decade ending in 1820.

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[22] Houck, *History of the Missouri*, III, 150-60.

[23] J. M. Lucey, "History of Immigration to Arkansas" in Arkansas Historical Association *Reports*, III, 201-2. All other returns given above may be found in the U. S. Census Reports.

These early and widely scattered settlements were made in the fertile valleys of the streams in various parts of the territory. Some of the settlers from Kentucky came down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the mouth of the White and up that stream to Poke Bayou, later Batesville, in Independence county, while others drove herds of cattle overland to the same place as early as 1810. During the preceding year near the present site of Arkadelphia, on the bank of the Ouachita, emigrants had blazed their way and erected homes. Descendants of Daniel Boone, the children of Flanders Callaway and Gemima Boone, came to this same place in 1816. Blakleytown, the early name for Arkadelphia, thus became one of the earliest settlements in that part of the state. The manufacture salt in the vicinity as early as 1812 added to the attractiveness of the site, and by that same year boats were running between Blakleytown and New Orleans. The people had settled in sufficient numbers to justify the formation of Clark county in 1819. By the following year it is said that seven hundred and thirty-two miles of post roads existed in the territory and that the mails were carried over five hundred and eighty-two miles of these roads. A newspaper, the Arkansas Weekly Gazette, began publication in 1819. Homeseekers had moved into the southeastern part of Arkansas, a section included in Hempstead county as formed in 1818, before the year 1810, but the settlements were few and widely scattered.[24]

Extensive explorations of the Trans-Mississippi did not begin for some time after the War of 1812, but this was not due to a lack of interest in that section. Before the expiration of his term, Madison appointed a committee consisting of four Americans and a distinguished French engineer, General Bernard, to examine the coast and the inland frontier for the purpose of determining the needs of both. During the summer of 1817 an exploring expedition under the direction of Major Stephen H. Long ascended the Mississippi to sketch the course of that stream and select places for forts. He recommended three sites as desirable locations for military posts: one at the lower end of Lake Pepin, a second south of the St. Croix, and a third just above the mouth of the St. Peter's. It was the last of these that Calhoun determined to fortify, and in the summer of 1818 preparations were begun. The post, according to the Secretary of War, "from its remoteness from our settlements, its proximity to Lord Selkirk's establishment on Red River of Lake Winnipeg, and from its neighborhood to the powerful nations of the Sioux, ought to be made very strong."[25]

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[24] The articles in the Arkansas Historical Association, *Reports*, from which the above is taken are the following: Charles H. Brough, "The Industrial History of Arkansas," I; Laura S. Butler, "History of Clark County," I; J. H. Shinn, "Early Arkansas Newspapers," I; A. H. Carrigan, "Reminiscences of Hempstead County," II; Nathan B. Williams, "The Post Offices in Early Arkansas," III; Robert Neil, "Reminiscences of Independence County," III.

For the purpose of executing Calhoun's plans the War Department issued orders to Major-General Jacob Brown, the commander of the division in the north, which were transmitted by him to his subordinates on April 13th following, to concentrate the fifth regiment of infantry at Detroit, preparatory to putting Calhoun's plans into execution. The necessary transportation was to be ready by the first of May. Under the command of Colonel Henry Leavenworth the troops proceeded by way of Green Bay and Fort Howard to Prairie du Chien, arriving at the last named place on June 30th. Here they were joined by Major Thomas Forsyth, an Indian agent from St. Louis, who was to accompany the expedition. He carried with him about two thousand dollars' worth of merchandise which he was to distribute among the Sioux Indians.

On August 8th the expedition, consisting of ninety-eight soldiers and about twenty boatmen, fourteen bateaux, two large boats loaded with provisions and merchandise, and a barge occupied by Colonel Leavenworth, left Prairie du Chien for the upper Mississippi. Frequent stops were made at Indian villages along the route when Forsyth delivered speeches to various tribes, warning them against British influence and distributing presents among them. On the twenty-fourth the expedition arrived at the mouth of the St. Peter's. A few days later they were joined by one hundred and twenty additional soldiers, and temporary quarters were constructed on the south side of the river. On account of a flood during the spring of 1820, it is reported, the troops were moved across the river to Camp Coldwater. Here the foundations for a permanent camp were laid during the late summer or early fall. The work was done almost entirely by the soldiers, and by the fall of 1822 the structure was ready for occupancy. It was called Fort St. Anthony at first but later, upon the recommendation of General Winfield Scott, who visited the post in 1824, the name was changed to Fort Snelling in honor of Colonel Josiah Snelling who had succeeded Colonel Leavenworth during the winter of 1820-1821.[26]

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[25] American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, II, 148.

Protected by this military post the efficient Indian agent, Lawrence Taliaferro, did a great deal toward destroying British influence among the tribes of the upper Mississippi and toward establishing American authority there.

There are indications that an attempt had been made to initiate plans for building a military post on the Missouri at the mouth of the Yellowstone before the expedition to the upper Mississippi was undertaken. These had been suggested by Monroe during the brief period that he occupied the chief position in the War Department, but the opposition of John Floyd of Virginia, of John Cocke of Tennessee, and of Henry Clay of Kentucky had prevented their execution. In 1817 Monroe became president, and during the summer of that year he made a tour of the north for the purpose of examining the military defenses. On this trip he went as far west as Detroit. In the fall of 1817, Calhoun became Secretary of War, and began the following March to make active arrangements for establishing a military post at the mouth of the Yellowstone. By August, 1818, however, he had concluded that the principal post should be at the Mandan villages, because that was the point on the Missouri nearest the British post on the Red River, "and the best calculated to counteract their hostilities against us. . . . "[27]

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[26] This was all a part of the so called Yellowstone Expedition, for a more complete account of which see Cardinal Goodwin, "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819-20," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1917.

But the summer of 1818 passed and little was accomplished. Finally Colonel Atkinson was selected to command the enterprise and on March 27, 1819, Calhoun wrote him a letter of instructions. The "two great objects" of the expedition, the Secretary of War asserted, were "the enlargement and protection of our fur trade, and permanent peace of our North Western frontier by the establishment of a decided control over the various tribes of Indians in that quarter." Of the two the latter was considered the more important. As long as American fur traders were obeying regulations they were to be protected. Foreigners were to be treated discreetly until the military posts were well established, then notice should be given that after a fixed period foreign trade would be rigidly excluded. Particularly was Atkinson to avoid hostility with the Indians if possible. If hostilities should occur and additional forces were necessary, he was informed that troops at the mouth of the St. Peter's River might be called to his command.

On December 2, 1818, the government made a contract with Colonel James Johnson to transport the troops and provisions up the Missouri. He provided five steamboats for the purpose, two of which, Chittenden says, probably never entered the river, a third abandoned the trip thirty miles below Franklin, and the other two wintered at Cow Island a little below the mouth of the Kansas and returned to St. Louis in the spring. Despite the delays occasioned by the government's attempt to use steamboats instead of the more practical keel-boats, Atkinson succeeded by September, 1819, in getting his troops as far as Council Bluffs, where they experienced a disastrous winter from an attack of scurvy.

In the meantime the scientific branch of the expedition under the command of Major Stephen H. Long was experiencing less difficulty. A special boat had been constructed for the members of this division which proved to be more practical than the vessels provided by Colonel Johnson. The wheels had been placed in the stern and the boat drew only nineteen inches of water. Even the "absurd attempts at ornamentation" served the purpose intended. Not only the Indians but the frontier settlers themselves were profoundly impressed with this "apparent monster" bearing "a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with portholes and bristling with guns."[28].

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[27] American Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1899, II, 134-36.

Aboard this vessel Long and his party found themselves the center of interest in every settlement through which they passed. At Franklin where a stop of a week was made the people of the community entertained the members of the expedition in a most elaborate manner. Despite the delay occasioned by this, Long's boat, which had left St. Louis in June, sometime after the other vessels, passed them all and was the only one to arrive at Council Bluffs, reaching there in September, 1819. Major Long remained a short time and then returned to Washington.

Here opposition to the entire expedition was soon to develop. December 21, 1819, on motion of Representative John Cocke of Tennessee, the Committee on Military Affairs was ordered to find out what the expedition had already cost the government, what sums would be required in order to accomplish the objects intended; and what those objects were. It was in response to these demands that several papers were submitted to Congress on January 3, 1820, by Chairman Smyth of that committee, among them Calhoun's report on the Yellowstone Expedition. The report was tabled. On January 24th following, Cocke submitted another resolution directing that the Secretary of War be ordered to report to the House an itemized statement of the money paid Colonel Johnson and of the amount claimed by him under the contract of December 2, 1818. The attempt to table the resolution failed after Cocke had spoken at some length on the subject and had declared that the former report by the Secretary of War had been unsatisfactory. Calhoun submitted the data required on February 3rd, and it was referred to the committee on Military Affairs."[29]

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[28] Chittenden, ***The American Fur Trade in the Far West*****, II, 571.**

Four days later, February 7, 1820, the Secretary of War wrote to Colonel Atkinson. Among other things Calhoun commended the leader for his management of the expedition and approved his plans for connecting posts on the frontier by opening roads between them. While the use of steamboats for transporting troops and provisions was left to the judgment of Colonel Atkinson, the Secretary thought that it would add dignity to the expedition and that it might serve to impress the British and the Indians with the power of the United States if such vessels could be used.

While Calhoun encouraged Atkinson to give *eclat* to the enterprise, members of Congress were planning to stop it entirely. The Quartermaster-General asked Congress for $500,000 to meet the expenses of his department for the year 1820. When this item in the appropriation bill was under discussion on March 10th of that year, Cocke asked what part of the sum was intended to meet the expenses of the expedition up the Missouri. He wanted to reduce the appropriation to that extent. The following day his suggestion was adopted by the House and the sum of $50,000 was stricken from the total of $500,000 requested by the Quartermaster-General. But when the appropriation bill came before the Senate on March 20th, that body amended it by substituting $500,000 for the $450,000 which the House had appropriated. This change was made in order to enable the War Department to send troops up the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The return of the bill to the House with the Senate amendment produced a heated discussion in that body on April 5th, and the majority of the members refused to accept the amendment. This prevented the appropriation of funds necessary to carry out the original plans for establishing posts at the Mandan villages. As a "half-hearted apology to the public for its failure," says Chittenden, "a small side show was organized for the season of 1820 in the form of an expedition to the Rocky Mountains." The equipment of the latter was as insufficient as that of the former had been lavish. In this change in the character of the expedition at the head of which he had been placed, may be found psychological reasons for the wholesale condemnation of the far western country by Major Long.[30]

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[29] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Sess., I, 1047; *American State Papers; Military Affairs,* II, 68, 69.

The reorganized company, consisting of twenty men, left the Missouri at Council Bluffs on the sixth of June, 1820. At the Pawnee village on the Loup River they visited the Indians and employed two Frenchmen as guides and interpreters. Two days were spent among the Indians before the party resumed its westward journey. From the vicinity of Grand Island the route followed the north bank of the Platte to the forks whence it crossed to the south bank of the South Fork.

The company had left the Indian villages on the thirteenth of June. On the thirtieth of that month they came within sight of the Rockies. They had hoped to celebrate the fourth of July in the mountains, but in this they were disappointed. On the fifth they camped on the site of the present city of Denver, and on the sixth directly in front of the chasm through which issues the South Platte. Two days were spent here while a vain attempt was made to cross the first range and reach the Platte on the other side. However they did succeed in reaching an elevation from which they could distinguish the two forks of that river. On the twelfth of July the camp was made a few miles south of Colorado Springs. From here James, the chronicler of the expedition, accompanied by two men, ascended Pike's Peak. This was probably the first time the top was reached by white men, and Long called the mountain James's Peak in honor of the achievement, but this name has not been accepted. The height of the mountain above the plain was properly estimated by Lieutenant Swift, but the height of the basal plains above sea level was inaccurately made so that an error of nearly three thousand feet in the determination of the summit above sea level was the result.

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[30] Goodwin, "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819-1820," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1917.

The observations for longitude and latitude here as elsewhere were erroneous.

The party broke camp on July sixteenth and moved southwest to the Arkansas, coming to that stream twelve or fifteen miles above the present city of Pueblo. On the following day four members of the party went up the river to the entrance of the Royal Gorge at Canon City, but they were turned back, baffled again by what seemed to them to be impassable barriers. Two days later, on the nineteenth, the whole expedition moved down the Arkansas. At the end of another two days camp was made a few miles above the later site of La Junta, Colorado. Following instructions from the War Department the party was divided in two, and preparations were made for exploring the courses of both the Arkansas and the Red. Long accompanied the more important of the two divisions down the latter stream, while the former, having been examined already by Pike, was explored by Captain Bell and his division.

Major Long's division left the Arkansas on July twenty-fourth, crossed Purgatory Creek and the upper waters of the Cimmaron River, and after six days came to a small tributary of the Canadian River. Nearly a week later they came to the last named stream near the present boundary of Texas and New Mexico. The members of the party believed that they had reached the Red River, and naturally, because they came upon the Canadian in the region where the Red was supposed to rise. But the stream deviated from the course which the Red was supposed to follow, and the party became doubtful. They were not convinced of their error, however, until they arrived at the junction of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. The journey down the latter stream had been made amidst almost constant suffering which had been caused by exposure to violent storms and excessive heat, by lack of an adequate supply of food and water, by annoying attacks of wood ticks, and by occasional encounters with bands of unfriendly Kaskaskia and Comanche Indians. But despite these obstacles the party arrived at Fort Smith on the thirteenth of September. This was the meeting place which had been previously determined upon, and Long found Bell's division awaiting him upon his arrival.

The commander of the Arkansas expedition had experienced difficulties and hardships scarcely less trying than those encountered by Long. On a night in August (the thirteenth) three soldiers deserted, taking with them all the manuscripts which had been prepared by Dr. Say and Lieutenant Swift since leaving the Missouri. These contained notes on the animals which had been examined, a journal of the expedition, considerable topographical data, besides information on the customs, manners, history, and languages of the Indian. To add to their discouragement they went astray. This occurred soon after crossing the Great Bend when they mistook the Ne-Ne-Scah for the Negracka or Salt Fork of the Arkansas. Other similar errors added to their bewilderment and for some time they did not know just how to reach the appointed rendezvous. But finally they met a band of friendly Osage Indians near the Verdigris River on September first who were able to give them information, and they reached Fort Smith on the ninth of the same month.

The entire expedition descended the river to the Cherokee towns on Illinois Creek in Pope County, Arkansas. From here they proceeded overland to Cape Girardeau in Missouri. Two members of the party went from the Cherokee towns to Hot Springs, Arkansas, and returned to the Arkansas River at Little Rock, whence they also crossed the country to Cape Girardeau. Here all members of the expedition met on October twelfth, 1820, and a little later they were disbanded.[31]

While Long and his party were exploring the country west of the Missouri, another expedition was sent out from Council Bluffs in the opposite direction for the purpose of opening a road between that place and the military post on the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's River. This was led by Captain Magee of the rifle regiment. Accompanying the party were Lieutenant Colonel Morgan and Captain

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[31] Edwin James, "An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, 1819-20," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1748-1840, Cleveland, 1905. Vols., 14, 15, 16, 17.

Kearny. It is to the latter that we are indebted for our knowledge of the undertaking.[32]

The party required twenty-three days to make the trip. Leaving Camp Missouri on July 2, 1820, they followed a route leading in a general northeasterly direction, veering occasionally to the east or to the north, finally arriving at Camp Cold Water on July 25th. "Our circuitous and wavering route (which is to be attributed to the guide's advice . . .)," noted Kearny, "the immense prairies we have crossed; the want of timber which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts was to be found; the high and precipitous mountains and hills which we climbed over, render that road impracticable and almost impassable for more than very small bodies."[33]

Before this an unofficial exploration of a part of the Southwest had been made by the botanist, Thomas Nuttall. Nuttall was born in England but had come to the United States in 1808 when twenty-two years old. He spent several years making and studying botanical collections in the country east of the Mississippi and had established his reputation as a scholar before he undertook his Trans-Mississippi investigations. If the *Journal* of the latter expedition, which had been planned long before it was carried out, had been confined entirely to a description of the plant life of the country through which Nuttall traveled, it would have had little or no interest for the student of western history. But this is not the case. It is true that the volume is primarily of interest to the scientist, but it has value for the historian as well. The historical statements are not always accurate, but his general observations frequently give vivid descriptions of the settled area of the Arkansas country in 1819. His observations of the Indians are also very valuable.

Nuttall left Philadelphia on the second of October, 1818. Crossing to the headwaters of the Ohio he descended that stream and the Mississippi by boat, and on January second following, having made his way by boat up the White River and through a connecting bayou, sometimes referred as the "White River cut off," came to Arkansas Post. Here he received a cordial reception from one of the leading settlers of the Post, an old Canadian by the name of Bougie or Bogy. The settlement consisted of thirty of forty houses, and the place was a center for the trade of the Arkansas and White river valleys. As already indicated, the settlement of the region did not proceed so rapidly as otherwise it probably would have done because of the uncertain titles to the land in the vicinity. The same thing interfered with the improvement of the land by settlers who were there. Most of the large grants were invalidated by Congress (1847-1848), among them the Winter's grant.[34]

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[32] "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny," edited by Valentine M Porter, in Missouri Historical Society, *Collections*, III, 8 ff. A map of the route which Magee followed will be found in this volume.

Ibid.

A few weeks were spent in and around the Post, and during the last of February Nuttall again resumed his westward journey. He was told that the country to the Cadron, a distance of about three hundred miles by water, was pretty well settled, particularly along the northern shore of the river. The greatest uninhabited area was said not to exceed thirty miles in distance. By March twelfth he had reached the site of the present city of Pine Bluff. On the morning of that same day he passed white men who were descending the river with cargoes of furs which they had collected among the Osage Indians. Eight days later he was in the vicinity of Little Rock. Fairly well defined roads extended from the neighborhood of Little Rock to St. Louis in one direction and to Natchitoches in another. Continuing up the river and passing many homesteads along its banks, Nuttall came to the little settlement of Cadron, about thirty-eight miles above Little Rock, on the twenty-seventh of March. Although an attempt was made to build a town on the site, and the place became the seat of justice of Pulaski County in 1820, Nuttall estimated the possibilities for development accurately when he wrote, "I greatly doubt whether a town of any consequence on the

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[34] Nuttall, Thomas, "A Journal of Travel into the Arkansas Territory during the year 1819, with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines," Thomas H. Palmer, Philadelphia, 1821. In Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIII, 106-107 and 112.

Arkansas will ever be chosen on this site." The place has entirely disappeared[35] although at one time it was on one of the main routes of travel from St. Louis and the settlements on the White River to Hot Springs and to the Red River settlements.

United States surveyors were at work in the vicinity while Nuttall was there. One of them was "laying out the lands contiguous to the Cadron into sections," while another was on the "Great Prairie" near Arkansas Post and was working toward the Cadron settlement. Settlers at that time were not attracted by the rolling lands which were located back from the river, but some of the surveys extended as far north as the banks of the White River, Nuttall's comments on the character of the soil and on some phases of the settlement of this section are worth quoting: "These fine cotton lands have not altogether escaped the view of speculators, although there is yet left ample room for the settlement of thousands of families on lands which, except the few preemption rights, will be sold by the impartial hand of the nation at a price as reasonable as the public welfare shall admit of, which has heretofore been at the rate of two dollars the acre, and as no lands on this river are now surveyed and offered for sale, but such as are considered to be of the first and second rate, there can consequently be no room left for imposition, and though there is, indeed, a considerable portion of inundated land unavoidably included, yet in general, as I understand from the surveyor, there will be in almost every section a great portion of elevated soils.

"The preemption rights, as they are called, are a certain species of reward or indemnification for injuries sustained in the late war, and afforded to such individuals only as had made improvements in the interior of the territories prior to the year 1813. Such individuals, if able to pay, are entitled to one or more quarter sections, as the line of their improvements may happen to extend into the public lines when surveyed, of one or more such plots or fractional sections of land. These rights have been bought (116) up by speculators, at from 4 or 500 to 1000 dollars, or at the positive rate of from 3 to 10 dollars the acre, including the price of two dollars per acre to the United States; a certain proof of the growing importance of this country, where lands, previous to the existence of any positive title, have brought a price equal to that of the best lands on the banks of the Ohio, not immediately contiguous to any town. The hilly lands, which have not been thought worthy of a survey, will afford an invaluable common range for all kinds of cattle, while the alluvial tracts are employed in producing maize, cotton, tobacco, or rice. I must, here, however, remark by the way, that there exists a considerable difference in the nature of these soils. They are all loamy, never cold or argillaceous, but often rather light and sandy; such lands, however, though inferior for maize, are still well adapted for cotton. The richest lands here produce from 60 to 80 bushels of maize per acre. The inundated lands, when properly banked so as to exclude and introduce the water at pleasure by sluices, might be well employed for rice, but the experiment on this grain has not yet been made, on an extensive scale, by any individual in the territory, although its success, in a small way, has been satisfactorily ascertained. Indigo is occasionally raised for domestic use, but would require more skill in its preparation for the market. Indeed, as yet, the sum of industry calculated to afford any satisfactory experiment in agriculture or domestic economy has not been exercised by the settlers of the Arkansa,s who, with half the resolution of the German farmers of Pennsylvania, would assure to themselves and their families comfort and affluence."[36]

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[35] Ibid., 156, n. 133 and pp. 157-58.

From the Cadron country Nuttall continued his westward journey up the Arkansas through the Dardenelle settlement and through the Cherokee country to the post at Fort Smith, arriving there on the twenty-fourth of April. The fort consisted of two blockhouses and lines of cabins which accommodated seventy men, and was located on an elevation of fifty feet at the junction of the Poteau with the Arkansas. More than two weeks were spent in exploring the surrounding country. It was at the season when wild flowers were to be found in profusion and Nuttall fairly reveled in these numerous excursions which familiarized him with the flora of the country.

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[36] Ibid., 165-67.

On the sixteenth of May, Major Bradford conducted a company of soldiers across country to the junction of the Kiamichi and Red rivers. The government had ordered that the whites living west of the Kiamichi be moved to the east of that stream, the former territory being reserved to the Osage Indians. The purpose of Major Bradford's expedition was to execute this order, and Nuttall was permitted to accomapny the party. Proceeding in a general southwestern direction the members of the expedition reached their destination on the Red River fifteen miles above the mouth of the Kiamichi on the twenty-fourth of May. Here Bradford spent two days carrying out his orders, and on the twenty-sixth began the return journey. Nuttall accompanied the party for a short distance but became lost when he lingered behind to collect some new and curious plants which he found scattered over the "enchanting prairies." His intense interest in his botanical pursuits, and the rich fields of new varieties of flowers which he found made him almost forget his situation, "cast away as I was amidst the refuse of society." "These people," he continued in his characterization of the settlers, "as well as the generality of those who, till lately, inhabited the banks of the Arkansas, bear the worst moral character imaginable, being many of them renegades from justice, and such as have forfeited the esteem of civilized society."[37] It is only fair to say. however, that Nuttall did not intend to class all the people living in that section as "renegades from justice." He spoke in the highest terms of his host and hostess, and declared that he would never forget the "sincere kindness and unfeigned hospitality" which he experienced from these "poor and honest people."[38]

Finally, on the fourteenth of June Nuttall found three men who were apparently trustworthy and who were leaving the

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[37] Ibid., 221-22.

[38] Ibid., 218 and 221-22 and 23.

Red River settlement for the purpose of recovering some stolen horses from the Cherokees. This afforded him the opportunity he had been seeking and he joined them. The return journey was a tedious one but the little party made good time and Nuttall reached Fort Smith on the twenty-first. He remained there until July sixth. On that day he secured passage on board a boat which was leaving for a trading post situated near the mouth of the Verdigris, about one hundred and thirty miles up the Arkansas River. The expedition arrived at the latter point on the fourteenth. Nuttall spent a few weeks exploring the surrounding country, and he gives considerable space in his *Journal* to a description of this and of the Osage Indians who inhabited the region. He thought the "irresistible tide of western emigration" would ultimately lead to the establishment of a town near the confluence of the Verdigris, Grand, and Arkansas rivers—a prediction which has been fulfilled by the growth of Fort Gibson in that vicinity.

The final stage of Nuttall's journey began on August eleventh. He left the trading post at the mouth of the Verdigris with a hunter by the name of Lee for a guide, his objective being the Cimmaron River. He could not have realized the difficulties which such a trip necessarily entailed at that season of the year. The streams were stagnant, the heat was intense, the water was foul, the food was poor, and the night dews were exceedingly disagreeable. Nuttall soon contracted a fever which nearly proved fatal. Then, too, the Indians were a source of annoyance and danger. The guide suggested that they return to the Verdigris, but his chief refused to turn back. When they at last reached the Cimmaron Nuttall's fever had improved and an attempt was made to ascend the river, but he was compelled to abandon the scheme when he lost one of his two horses. A canoe was then built in which the guide started down stream while Nuttall rode the remaining horse. It was found, however that the horse could not keep up with the canoe, and they then decided to separate despite the greater danger from Indians which they were sure to experience alone. Nuttall arrived at the mouth of the Verdigris on the fifteenth of September physically exhausted.

He remained there a week and proceeded to Fort Smith where another forced halt was made. Finally, on October the sixteenth, he started down the Arkansas and arrived at New Orleans on the eighteenth of February, 1820.

Among the early accounts of explorations in the Trans-Mississippi West there are few more curious and interesting narratives than the *Journal* of Jacob Fowler. The capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and grammar are indeed amusingly crude, but his story is straightforward and intelligible. The editor says rightly that Fowler "never loses the thread of his discourse, never tangles it into an irrelevant skein, and holds himself well in hand through all the asperities he experienced." He was a keener and a more accurate observer than the majority of the men who have left accounts of the West.[39]

Fowler left Fort Smith on the Arkansas the sixth of September, 1821. His route was along the Arkansas River, exceot a short cut-off by way of the Verdigris trail. He experienced no difficulty from the Indians until he came to Walnut Creek. A horse was stolen from the party there and the Indians appeared "more unfriendly and talk Sasy and bad to us but this Is to be Exspected as the(y) Come from the other vileges."[40] Fowler continued his journey up the Arkansas River to Pueblo, Colorado. A member of his party killed by a bear near the mouth of the Purgatory or Las Animas River was probably the first American to be buried in Colorado soil. Dr. Coues thinks that Fowler built "the first habitable and inhabited house" within the limits of the present city of Pueblo. From the latter place, on the thirtieth of January, 1822, Fowler led his men toward the Spanish setttlements in New Mexico. On the preceding day he heard that the Mexican province had declared its independence and wished to open trade relations withthe United States. This doubtless encouraged him to enter that country as soon as possible.

He crossed the Sangre de Christo Range between Sheep and Veta mountains on February the fourth, and four days later came to the pueblo of Taos. The people of the village were wretchedly poor and Fowler found it impossible to get supplies for his company. The inhabitants said that their crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers during the two preceding years, which made it necessary for them to transport grain for their bread a distance of more than one hundred miles. Meat was also scarce among them, so much so that they attempted to purchase some from Fowler, but he declined to sell because he had nothing but meat for his own men and not too much of that. But these conditions did not prevent the people from enjoying themselves. On the evening following Fowler's arrival, the men and women of the village came to his house where a fandango was held.

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[39] Elliott Coues (Ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, etc., N. Y., 1898.

[40] Ibid., 1718.

Dissatisfied with the place and unable to secure necessary supplies Fowler left Taos on February 12, 1822, with his men. They proceeded west to the Rio Grande and ascended the river, occasionally trapping for beaver as they moved northward. Game was scarce and the men soon began to suffer from hunger of which "Taylor and Pall (a negro who accompanied the expedition) Began to Complain," the former "growing black in the face" and the latter "getting White with the Same Complaint and the(y) both thaught the Hors Shold be killed." Jacob and Robert Fowler consented to this finally, but both decided to hunt while other members of the party made ready the horseflesh. The hunters returned to camp with two deer while the men were skinning the horse. The carcass of the latter was thrown away and the party soon had "Suntious (sumptuous) feest and much Pleasntness . . . Round the fiier tho We lamented the fate of the Poor Hors." More game was killed and by the end of February the men found themselves temporarily well supplied with provisions.

Fowler spent the spring months hunting and trapping on the upper Rio Grande. On the first of June, 1822, he joined the James and McKnight expedition from Santa Fe[41] for the return trip to the States. Crossing the mountains eastward by the Taos Pass the party started for home by a different route from that over which they had come to Taos. They left the watershed of the Rio Grande for that of the Arkansas, crossing the New Mexico line into Colorado at the point where later the Denver, Texas Fort Worth railroad was to cross it, about longitude 103° 50′ west and latitude 37° north. Upon reaching the vicinity of the extreme western end of the Mesa de Maya in Las Animas County, Colorado, they followed probably an approximately straight line to Coolidge, Kansas, situated on the Arkansas river near the boundary line between Colorado and Kansas. They then came down the Arkansas taking a short cut-off in the vicinity of Ford, Kansas, to the neighborhood of Raymond in Rice County.

Near this place the party left the Arkansas River and started across the country toward the east. On the twenty-first of June members of James' expedition were sighted making their way down the Arkansas. Fowler and his companions passed through the northern part of Harvey and Butler counties, crossing the northern boundary of the latter into Chase County near Thurman. Passing the headwaters of the Verdigris, they struck the Neosho about eight miles a little south of east of the present city of Emporia, Kansas. Here Fowler said was one of the best tracts of land for settlement that he had seen. Not only was there plenty of fertile land, but the supply of water and timber was ample. Thence the party moved in a general northeastern direction passing close to or through modern Lyndon in Osage County. Continuing through or passing near the present cities of Baldwin and Olathe, Kansas, the company crossed the Missouri-Kansas boundary a little south of Kansas City and came to Fort Osage on July 5, 1822[42]. After a short rest they preceeded down the Missouri River in canoes to St. Louis. At the latter place the men separated and Fowler returned by steamboat to his home in Kentucky, arriving there on July 27th, after an absence of "thirteen months and thirteen days."

Among those who have traveled through the Southwest and have left accounts of their experiences few have been given less consideration by modern students than John H. Fonda.

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[41] Ibid., 143, note 25.

[42] Coues says that Fort Osage, sometimes called Fort Clark, was built in 1808. Ibid., 172.

Yet Fonda deserves a place among those early pioneers who have contributed to our knowledge of the Great West.[43]

It was probably in the spring or early summer of 1819 that Fonda joined a company that was leaving Watervliet in Albany County, New York, for Texas. They proceeded to Buffalo and from there they went by boat to Cleveland. Thence the company journeyed south through Ohio to Cincinnati, from which place they floated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers on flatboats to Natchez. Here the boats were traded for horses, a covered wagon, and a team of mules. Having provided themselves with a complete outfit and buried one of the members of the party who had died from an attack of yellow fever, they were ferried across the Mississippi by an old trader "who charged an exorbitant price for his services—so much so, that I remember the company went on without paying him."

If they traveled directly west from Natchez as Fonda claims, they reached the Red River southeast of Natchitoches, and must have passed the latter on their way up that stream. They ascended the Red River to Fort Towson, in the southeastern part of the present state of Oklahoma. Here they camped near a small stream which Fonda says was called Le Bontte Run (Gates Creek), and the emigrants utilized the time to rest and to perfect their plans. They finally determined "to settle on the prairie land near what they called the Cross Timbers, a tract of country watered by numerous streams, well timbered, and with soil of the richest qualities." And continuing Fonda says: "But the novelty of the journey, promised at the start, had been sobered down to a stern reality during the last six months, and instead of accompanying the party into the then Mexican territory, I remained with a Scotchman who had taken a Choctaw squaw for a wife, and kept a trading post on the headwaters of the Sabine River. With this Scotchman I stayed during the winter of 1819, and in the spring of 1820, went down to New Orleans, with five

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[43] Goodwin, Cardinal, "John H. Fonda's Explorations in the Southwest" in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for July, 1919. See Fonda's account of his explorations in the Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 205-284.

voyageurs, to get a keelboat load of goods for the Scotch trader, who had intrusted me with the business, for he took a liking to me, and knew no other person in whom he could put as much confidence."

Here Fonda spent "eight or ten weeks" collecting merchandise and trying to keep the French *voyageurs* out of trouble. He returned to the Fort in September.

Throughout the fall and winter of 1820 he clerked for the Scotchman but had very few opportunities to sell goods on his own account. His employer had been an *engage* of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, and was exceedingly grasping, and would not let him buy fur on private account anywhere near the trading post. In order to find a market where he could carry on trade with the Indians without coming into direct competition with his employer, he made several excursions among the Shawnee and Osage tribes, from whom he got a few packs of valuable fur. "But, though there was an excitement about a trader's life that had a charm for me, yet often, when camped by a sheltered spring, ambition would whisper, 'You have another mission to fulfill'."

Following these whisperings of ambition occurs a leap of two years in the narrative. In the spring of 1823, "soon after the grass was well up," Fonda left for Santa Fe, "along with two fellows who had come up from New Orleans." He rode a "mustang colt" and placed his "trappings on board an old pack-mule." They traveled west "to the source of the Red River, through the Comanche country, north to the forks of the Canadian River where we took the old Santa Fe trail, which led us over and through the southern spur of the Rocky Mountains, to Santa Fe, where we arrived without any of those thrilling adventures, or Indian fights, that form the burden of many travelers' stories."

They saw no Indians at all except a party of "Kioways" with whom Fonda tried to carry on trade.

The exact route which Fonda took from the source of the Red River to Santa Fe is difficult to determine. Of course he did not reach the forks of the Canadian if he went to the source of the Red River and there turned north. The forks of the Canadian are almost north of Fort Towson, the point from which he started. He is probably referring to the forks made by the union of the Mustang Creek with the Canadian River in northwestern Texas. It is equally certain that he did not strike the Santa Fe trail at the point where it crossed the Canadian River. He doubtless reached the Canadian River when he turned north from the Red at the mouth of Mustang Creek, as already indicated, or at the mouth of Major Long's Creek. Here he probably came upon "the much frequented Indian trail crossing the creek, from the west and following down along the east bank,"[44] to which Long refers. This he probably thought was the Santa Fe trail. If he took the route thus indicated he went west along the Canadian finally reaching the San Miguel, whence he followed the Santa Fe trail to Santa Fe.

Soon after arriving in Santa Fe, Fonda lost track of his traveling companions. He then went to Taos, where he spent the winter of 1823 and 1824. Here he found a village in which the "houses were all one-story high, and built of clay or large gray brick." The inhabitants were Spaniards, Mexicans, "Indians, a mixed breed," and a few trappers. The town was a "lively wintering place, and many were the fandangoes, frolics, and fights which came off" during the winter. By May, 1824, Fonda had become thoroughly disgusted with Taos and its inhabitants, "for the latter were a lazy, dirty, ignorant set, and, as a whole, possessed less honor than the beggarly Winnebagoes about Prairie du Chien, at the present time" (1858).

Leaving Toas Fonda returned to Santa Fe where he found a company of traders who were preparing to cross the plains to Missouri. He soon became acquainted with a men by the name of Campbell, who was a merchant from St. Louis. The latter engaged the explorer "to oversee the loading and unloading of his three wagons, whenever it was necessary to cross a stream, which frequently happened."

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[44] James, Edwin (Compiler), *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and 1820, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, Under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long.* 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1823. Vol. II, 94.

The trip from Santa Fe to St. Louis proved to be "a hard journey," and one that Fonda never cared to repeat. The "caravan of wagons, cattle, oxen, horses and mules left Santa Fe in good condition," but many of them died before the company reached the Missouri River—the animals from thirst and exhaustion, and the men from sickness and disease. The survivors reached St. Louis in October, "which place I saw for the first time, and Campbell having no further need of my services paid me in hard Mexican dollars, and I left him."

It is evident, then, that in the early years of the nineteenth century Missouri territory was an important center from which numerous exploring expeditions were conducted into the Far West. The two principal waterways which drain this remote western country, the Missouri and the Arkansas, empty into the Mississippi within this region. These facilitated exploration, and their fertile valleys tempted the settler. In 1803 the entire area under consideration contained less than ten thousand people.[45] By 1820 there were 74,859. By the end of the year 1822 it is safe to say that several thousand more had erected homes within the present boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas.

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[45] Viles, Jonas, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804," in the *Missouri Historical Review*, 1910-1911 (Vol. V), 212-13.

Major Emory S. Foster

BY GEO. S. GROVER.

Emory Stallsworth Foster was born in Greene county, Missouri, near Springfield, on November 5, 1839. His father, Robert Alexander Foster, was a native of Georgia, of pure English lineage, and was a Methodist minister of the gospel. His mother, Jane Louise Foster, nee Headlee, was of Scotch Irish lineage. Emory Foster, their second son, was educated in the common schools of that time, but early in life learned the printers' trade.

In 1860, his father removed with his family to Warrensburg, in Johnson county, Missouri. There Emory Foster and his older brother, Marshall M. Foster, established and conducted a weekly newspaper, called the Warrensburg *Missourian.* It was a Democratic paper, but also fearlessly independent in all its views. In 1861 the Foster brothers were unconditional Union men and supported the United States Government against secession in their paper with great zeal and ability, and thus rendered effective and powerful service to the Union cause in Missouri.

In February, 1861, a State Convention was called in Missouri to meet, in that month, to determine whether or not Missouri would secede. The Union delegates were elected in Missouri, in that month, by a majority of 80,000. That Convention not only kept Missouri in the Union but also abolished slavery in the State forever. Johnson county, Missouri, elected a Union delegate to that Convention by a decisive majority.

While voting at the polls in February, 1861, for the Union candidate, Marshall M. Foster was shot in the back and killed by two of his political opponents in Warrensburg. In his death, the Union cause lost a great leader. Foster's assassins escaped, but never thereafter served the secession cause with any credit, and never returned to Warrensburg.

In March, 1861, Emory Foster recruited a company of volunteers in Warrensburg, and joined with them as their captain. The 29th Missouri Infantry (mounted) was then being organized by Col. Benjamin W. Grover for the Union army. There were no uniforms to be had at that time, so the boys wore red shirts and black trousers, and were known as the "Red Shirt Company." At that time Francis M. Cockrell, afterwards a Confederate general and United States senator from Missouri, was recruiting a company for the 5th Regiment, Confederate Army, in Warrensburg. Cockrell was captain of that company. Afterwards, in March, 1861, at Captain Cockrell's request, Foster's and Cockrell's companies drilled together on alternate days in Warrensburg in perfect harmony. This is the only instance of that kind known to the writer in the Civil War. Foster's company, the "Red Shirts," became Company C, 27th Missouri Infantry (mounted) Union, in March, 1861, and then entered the Military service of the United States. Their captain, Emory S. Foster, was elected major of that regiment at that time. Emory S. Foster soon became a gallant and heroic soldier in that regiment, and led many a daring scout with it in western Missouri between the Osage and Missouri rivers in this state.

In August, 1861, the regiment was ordered to Jefferson City, Missouri. Major Foster marched one squadron overland from Warrensburg, and in a sharp fight near Centertown, in Cole county, Missouri, attacked and routed a large band of guerrillas, killing ten of them. Upon the arrival of the regiment at Jefferson City, Col. U. S. Grant, 21st Illinois Infantry, afterwards the immortal commander of the Union armies, who was then in command of that military post, detailed Major Foster to take command of a picked squadron of the 29th regiment, known as the Fremont Scouts. With this detachment Major Foster rendered distinguished service in the remaining months of 1861. On one occasion with ten men of his command he captured a Confederate colonel, Lewis, with his body guard, at Holden, Johnson county, Missouri.

On another occasion his command with one company of the 1st Missouri Cavalry, Union, under Major W. J. Striclin, 426 ?

MAJOR EMORY S. FOSTER.

attacked and routed a large band of guerillas ten miles south of Warrensburg, Missouri, and rescued a government supply train drawn by 1200 oxen. Majors Foster and Striclin escorted this long train to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, a distance of more than 100 miles, and there delivered to the United States Quartermaster 144 work oxen, in fine condition, and the entire train.

In January, 1862, out of 1000 men who joined the 29th regiment, 2nd Infantry (mounted), in March, 1861, only 469 men were left with the colors. The rest had been killed and wounded in their arduous service. Therefore, it was decided to muster that regiment out of the military service. This was done at St. Louis, Missouri, on January 27th, 1862. Col. William T. Sherman, who afterwards "marched through Georgia," was the officer who mustered out that regiment.

Major Foster immediately after his muster out of the 27th regiment commenced making arrangements to re-enter the military service of the United States. In March, 1862, Major Foster recruited a squadron, three full companies, from the survivors of the 27th regiment for the 7th Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, a regiment of which Jno. F. Phillips was the gallant colonel, and T. T. Crittenden, afterwards Governor of this State, was the brave lieutenant colonel.

While recruiting this squadron for the 7th Cavalry at Warrensburg, Missouri, in March, 1862, Major Foster was attacked near that place by a large band of guerrillas. In the sharp fight that ensued, the guerrillas were defeated and driven off. Major Foster was wounded in the arm in this fight, but remained in it, cheering his men with the cool determination he always exhibited on such occasions. From March to August, 1862, Major Foster was constantly in the field with his squadron of the 7th Cavalry; engaged in almost daily fighting, sometimes at heavy odds with various bands of guerillas in Western Missouri.

On August 16, 1862, at Lone Jack in Jackson county, Missouri, Major Foster, with 740 men, fought a Confederate force-of 3000 one entire day. It was one of the most desperate fights at close range of the Civil War. In the afternoon Major

Foster was shot through the body, and his heroic brother, Morris Foster, carried the Major out of the firing line, receiving a bullet through his right lung, a wound from which he never recovered. After the Major fell, his successor in command retreated to Lexington, while the Confederates retreated to Arkansas. Major Foster lost 240 men, killed and wounded in this fight. The Confederate commanders conceded that, but for his disabling wound, Major Foster would have won the battle.

Major Foster never recovered from the wound he received at Lone Jack. He suffered from it continuously until he died. After the battle the surgeon of the 7th Cavalry, Dr. T. J. Montgomery of Sedalia, advised Major Foster to prepare for death. The Major refused to do so, and announced that he intended to recover and rejoin his regiment in the ensuing spring. This he did in March, 1863, to the astonishment of the doctors, while the regiment was stationed at Marshfield in Wright county, Missouri. There the officers of the 7th regiment presented Major Foster with the saber, revolvers and spurs, now in possession of The State Historical Society at Columbia, Missouri. The eloquent presentation speech was made by Col. Jno. F. Philips.

The year 1863, until October, was spent by Major Foster in the field in active service with the 7th Regiment in Southwest Missouri. In October, 1863, that brave Confederate General, Joe Shelby, invaded Missouri from Arkansas in that famous expedition of his, which is known in history as the "Shelby Raid." When Shelby reached the Osage River, at Warsaw, in his northward march, Major Foster was with the 7th Regiment at Osceola, Missouri. He was started in pursuit of Shelby by Gen. Brown, the Union commander then in the field, to prevent the capture of Sedalia by Shelby. Major Foster rode all night at the head of his squadron, attacked Shelby's squadron south of Sedalia, and thereby drove the gallant Confederate away from Sedalia, as he supposed Foster's force was the advance guard of Gen. Brown's entire brigade. For this important service the people of Sedalia gave Major Foster a saddle, bridle and all equipment for his war horse, as a slight token of their gratitude. Shelby was then pursued by General Brown with the 7th Regiment, led by their brave Colonel Philips and other commands until Shelby was overtaken at Marshall, Missouri, on October 12, 1863, where he was defeated, his force cut in two and chased out of the State.

The plan of the battle of Marshall, and Shelby's subsequent pursuit, was devised and carried out by Major Foster, who was Chief of Staff for Gen. Brown in this campaign. Major Foster then remained with the 7th Regiment on active duty until June, 1864, when his wound received at Lone Jack broke out afresh and he was, thereby forced to resign. Major Foster then returned to Warrensburg, Missouri where he remained until September, 1864.

Than came the invasion of Missouri from Arkansas by the Confederate General, Sterling Price, with a large force. Gen. Brown was then at Warrensburg, and was ordered to march with his brigade to Jefferson City to aid in the defense of that place. Warrensburg was then the western terminus of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in this State, and was an important military point. Gen. Brown had collected there a large amount of military stores, which he could not take with him. So he sent for Major Foster, and asked him to re-enlist and hold the place and save the stores. The General then marched with his command to Jefferson City.

There was at that time at Warrensburg a number of Union soldiers whose terms of service had expired. In four days Major Foster recruited and mounted four companies of cavalry. Gen. Brown caused them to be mustered into the military service and appointed Major Foster to command them with the rank of major of volunteers, cavalry. With this force Major Foster held the town, and increased by foraging the stores on hand.

On October 16, Major Foster was ordered to proceed west until he met Gen. Blunt, who was moving east with a division of Kansas volunteers. Major Foster moved promptly met Gen. Blunt at Plesant Hill, and returned with him to Holden. There, Major Foster's wound again disabled him so that he was compelled to divide his battalion and return with part of it to Warrensburg. The remainder of the battalion he left at Holden under the command of Gen. Blunt. That part of Major's Foster's battalion, under its senior Captain, served in the field with Gen. Blunt for 40 days and nights, and was with him in the subsequent battles in which Gen. Price was defeated and driven from the State. For this service Major Foster and his battalion received honorable mention in the military records of that time.

In 1865, Major Foster was elected public printer for the State for a term of four years. He removed to Jefferson City and served with distinction in that office for four years. After his term of office expired he then removed to a fruit farm in Jefferson county, Missouri, and remained there two years.

He was then appointed managing editor of the *St. Louis Journal*, an evening paper, and removed to St. Louis. Shortly thereafter the good people of Rockford, Illinois, concluded to hold a County Fair, and they invited Jefferson Davis, ex-president of the Southern Confederacy, to attend it, as an advertising scheme. The editorial comment in the *St. Louis Journal* of Major Foster's, on this act, was so severe and was followed in such hearty spirit by the Chicago papers that the invitation was withdrawn, although Mr. Davis declined it after considering it. The ex-Confederates in St. Louis, who resented Mr. Davis' treatment of General Joe Johnston, an able Confederate general, in removing him from command at Atlanta, Georgia in 1864, rather enjoyed this incident. Not so, as to many southern sympathizers then in St. Louis, who had not served in the army in the Civil War. A Roman historian writing of the Civil Wars of Rome long ago, fully described these St. Louisians in his maxim, "After the Civil War it was impossible to restrain the fury of the *non-combatants*."

At that time the *St. Louis Times*, then a morning paper, was ably edited by Major John N. Edwards, a gallant Confederate soldier, who had served as Chief of Staff for Gen. Joe Shelby. He (Major Edwards) was so besieged by the "non-combatants," that he demanded a retraction from Major Foster. Major Foster promptly refused it. Major Edwards then challenged Major Foster. Major Foster accepted, and named Rockford, Illiniois, as the place of meeting. The two majors met there and exchanged shots, fortunately missing each other. They were always personal friends after that duel.

While editing the *St. Louis Journal*, Major Foster attacked the "Whiskey Ring," then a powerful organization in St. Louis, with such success as to cause its prosecution and conviction.

About 1881, Major Foster was appointed secretary of the Board of Public Improvements in St. Louis. He held that office for twenty consecutive years, until 1901, when his health failed and he was compelled to resign. He always performed the duties of that important place with strict and impartial fidelity to the public interest.

With the hope of regaining his health, which was then much impaired, Major Foster went to California in 1902. He died in Oakland, California, in December of that year. He is buried in the lot owned by the Grand Army of the Republic in Oakland, California, a spot of surpassing beauty, and there his body awaits with confidence its final resurrection. In the meantime his steadfast and earnest soul is reunited in Heaven with his kinsmen and comrades, who have "gone before."

On January 18, 1864, Major Foster was married in Sharon, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, to Miss Jessie Elizabeth Beall. This accomplished lady and devoted wife and mother lives in California. One child, a daughter, Jessie, was born to this couple in Warrensburg, Missouri, on January 13, 1865. This daughter, a girl of rare beauty and intellectual gifts, grew to womanhood, the delight of all her people. She died in California after her father's decease. She is buried hear him, and is now with him in Heaven.

As a soldier, Major Foster was the peer of any one who ever served in any war. Of rare judgment, dauntless courage and skill in the military science he had few equals, and no superiors. As a citizen his public spirit and impartiality in the public service, rare zeal, and uniting ability and perseverance for the public good, rendered him always a natural leader among men. As a husband and father he was, beyond comparison, one of the best of men and to those whose privilege it was to know him in life, and who now survive him, our final salutation to his choice spirit, as we never cease to mourn his loss, can only be, Hail and Farewell.

Recollections of Thomas H. Benton

BY JUDGE JOHN A. OLIPHANT

In the late summer of 1856, a political meeting was to be held at Warrensburg, at which Thomas H. Benton was to discuss the issues of the day. He had been the most popular man in the State, having served in the United States Senate thirty years, two years in Congress, and was then a candidate for governor. Many great questions were involved, some of them were national. This proved to be the greatest and the most interesting campaign of his life, and all of his resources were mustered for the contest. His friends were in line and ready to go, and his enemies were bending all their energies to defeat him and thereby overthrow Bentonism. He had been so strong in the State that political parties had almost disappeared and the campaigns were fought out on the issue, Benton and Anti-Benton.

While so long in the Senate and being such a positive character, always contending for what he thought was right regardless of whom it opposed or concerned, he had made many lasting enemies, who sought every opportunity to oppose and defeat his plans. President Jackson's opposition to the National Banks, was opposed by Clay, Webster and Calhoun, three leaders in the Senate, and they made a combination that was thought all powerful, but Mr. Benton came to Jackson's rescue and in the greatest contest ever waged in that body, won out and beat the great combine, which caused these statesmen never to forgive him. Benton was strong for the Union and constitutional government, and when Calhoun presented his resolution to disrupt the Union, Benton opposed it with all the eloquence he possessed and said "Such a course was treason," so that all the influence of Calhoun and his friends afterwards both in and out of the State, was mustered to defeat him. The Missourians who afterwards favored secession were against Benton and on account of a third party candidate, which drew away some of his party friends, he was defeated.

His was a charmed life, such as no other man has held before or since. I can see him now as he stood on that platform in front of the old Court House at Warrensburg, looking over the many thousands who had come to hear the most eloquent and powerful statesman that had ever lived in that State, and served the people as he had done. Some were there who had loved and honored him in former days but were then for some reason, either real or imaginary, against him. His friends and foes were all there and those who were not for him wished they were long before he was through. His majestic form was attired in a handsome tailor-made suit of broadcloth, looking the picture of a crowned king. His eyes sparkled at every angle and his face was all aglow with that dazzling brilliancy which charmed the hearts of all who saw and heard him. The sun was hot that day, but those Missourians stood with bared heads for two hours, listening and shouting for Benton and never thought the sun was shining. His wit and sarcasm, interspersed with irony and story that so fully illustrated his ideas and punished his enemies, made him the supreme master and conquerer of the situation, so that none could oppose him.

Mr. Benton also spoke for James Buchanan, who was running for President on the same ticket, and, regarding Buchanan's opponent said, "years before a man consulted him as a lawyer, wanting to know how a man could steal a girl under age and elope with and marry her without having committed a crime, as it was then under the law, and he told him to let the girl steal the man, and a short time after, his daughter Jessie then under fifteen years, mounted her sorrel horse and quietly rode over to the Fremont home and John C. Fremont also mounted the horse behind her and she went to the parson's and they were married. This nearly broke his heart at first, but soon afterwards they came home and asked to be taken in and he did so. This young man, John C. Fremont his then much beloved and admired son-in-law, was the candidate on the Republican ticket for President against the man he was supporting for that high office." He said that while Fremont was a brilliant and highly honored man and could fill the position acceptably, yet he was for Buchanan, who would be elected. He also said that if the Democratic party did not get together on the great Union National issues, favored by his old friend John Bull of Tennessee and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, Mr. Fremont's party in the near future would come into power and rule the country for a life time, and would finally free the slaves and make all men free. Benton stated that he had started in that direction when in the Legislature of Tennessee in his early youth, he had passed a law allowing the slaves to have a jury trial the same as the whites, which he said was right as the negro was entitled to much more and would secure it. Four years after this Lincoln was elected President by the same Republican party. This prophecy of Benton's was as true as holy writ and it was well timed and his party utterly failed to grasp its truth and was driven from power for a life time.

Two years after this great meeting Mr. Benton died and his funeral at his home in St. Louis was attended by more than forty thousand people, who desired to honor Missouri's most beloved and greatest statesman, who not only believed in true democracy but practiced it throughout his whole career. Strong men and lovely women wept like children when, losing their most cherished friend, they took the last look of that friend, gentleman, and statesman. Mr. Benton stood high in the social world. He was aristocratic in character and conduct, yet he was on the level with the common people and mixed and mingled alike with all classes and kinds. He was against the spoils system and opposed crime and wrong-doing in friend and foe aliike. He died proclaiming all powers for the people, for whom he had lived. His life was filled with sunshine, clouds and storms, but "he finished his course and kept the faith."

The Followers of Duden

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

THIRD ARTICLE

Selections From Herman Steines' Diary

"May 22, 1834. This morning, after we had taken our breakfast, Glaser and I started on our journey. It is my purpose to find suitable land on which my friends and relatives who are coming from Germany may settle. I also wish to collect information and data that may be useful to us. We went thru Manchester and then to the home of Mr. George King, where we spent the night, after having marched a distance of twenty-one miles. The country between St. Louis and Manchester is unattractive. The soil is only of average value, and the woods are of poor quality.

"May 23. From Mr. King's we went toward the Wild Horse Creek. We ate dinner with old Mr. McKennon at the horse-mill. In the afternoon we arrived at Mr. Wirth's on the Wild Horse Creek. Here we met Florenz Kochs.

"May 24. In company with Florenz we visited Terril on the Tavern Creek this morning. Then we looked at the farms that Kochs, Wahl and Greef have bought, after which we went to the farms of Nathan Bacon and Will Hancock. Bacon's farm contains 365 acres, of which 100 acres are cleared. He asks $3000.00 for this farm. Hancock has 170 acres, forty cleared, and asks $4.00 an acre. Hancock has a good stone house on his farm. Fielding Bacon has 154 acres, 28 cleared, and asks $900.00. Several others, in fact, I think, every American there would sell his farm. The land is very good; the water excellent; the forest is average; the general aspect of the country is hilly; the farms are located in the valleys; the roads are bad, and there are no connecting roads as yet. Toward evening we went back to Mr. Wirth's.

"May 25. Sunday. Mr. Wirth and Florenz Kochs accompanied us as far as William Bacon's place on the Missouri River. Here we saw a Missouri River catfish which had been caught the night before. Wirth and Kochs went back home from here, and we were taken across the river in a boat that was made of a hollowed-out log. I must confess I was a little timid about crossing the Missouri in this uncertain craft. We had good luck for the water was quiet. In case of a high wind such an undertaking is dangerous, however. We each paid the man 25c and then climbed up the steep, caved-in bank of the river. Now we were in the level bottom land. We then continued our journey thru the majestic Missouri valley. We came thru Missouritown, which numbers five or six log houses, and about noon reached a very pretty farm with a substantial house on it. We stopped and asked for a glass of milk, but were not able to get it. We were invited ro stay for dinner, which invitation we gladly accepted. After enjoying a splendid meal we stayed till three o'clock, conversing with the owner. His farm contains about 400 acres of which about 100 acres are cleared. He has a fine orchard, the land is of excellent quality, and all the part that is fenced in is level. The price is $3200.00. The present owner bought it some years ago for $1600.00, but since then he has made some important improvements. The owner's name is Gouthridge. He comes from the neighborhood of the city of Washington in the District of Columbia. Mrs. Gouthridge was very accommodating and friendly. From the Gouthridge place we went further thru the valley in order to visit Mr. von Spankeren. We came to a pretty farm and I was just about to ask the way to von Spankeren's place, when I saw him, for he chanced to be visiting there that day. He at once took us to his house. Since he is a single man and his house is just large enough to accommodate him and his two men, we could not spend the night there, but upon von Spankeren's suggestion we went to a neighbor whose name is Allkeyer, a German-American from Virginia, who received us hospitably. The farms of Mr. Allkeyer and of Mr. von Spankeren lie close to the river. Von Spankerern is about to start a tannery. A

German by the name of Streit is boarding with Mr. Allkeyer. This Streit was formerly an officer in the army of the Elector of Hessia. Since he was not at home we did not have the opportunity of meeting him.

"May 26. After breakfast we again paid Mr. von Spankeren a visit. After leaving his place we soon got out of the Missouri bottoms and into the hills beyond. We soon came uopn the road that goes from St. Charles to Marthasville. This road we followed and visited the German settlers who live along this highway. We passed Mr. Krekel's place without being aware of it. About noon we came to the farm of Mr. Bock* who came from Braunschweig. In company with his son-in-law Mr. Radsche he has begun a whisky distillery. Mr. Bock has a large farm and lives in a brick house. He intends to carry on the distilling business on a large scale. He is a wealthy man. We were cordially received and invited to stay for dinner, which we gladly did. The kindly features, the charming voice, and the cheerfulness of old Mr. Bock made a deep impression on me. One of the rooms in his house

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*Mr. von Bock and his associates were men who had gotten their education in German gymnasia, where they had received thoro instruction in Latin and Greek. On this account their settlement was often called the "Latin settlement." The epithet, "Latin farmers," has commonly been applied to these scholarly German settlers." Cf. Faust's, *The German Element in the United States*, I, p. 442.

In Gustav Koerner's *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*, pp. 299 and 300, we read concerning Mr. von Bock: "Enticed by the favorable reports of Duden and hoping to find the richest kind of land under a Neapolitan sky, a number of highly cultured families and settled near the forsaken estate of Duden, as early as 1832. We mention here only the family von Bock. The head of this household was a most charming and jovial, tho eccentric gentleman. A short time after settling he laid out the town of Dutzow. On the 18th of Mey, 1834, the Germans of this community formed a German Society whose chief purpose was to foster sociability."

In Gert Goebel's *Laenger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri*, pp. 7 and 8, we read about these "Latin farmers:" "The old Americans viewed the activity of aristocratic people with dumb astonishment but the Germas who did not belong to the clique, laughed at them, for the formality and rather strict etiquette of their society contrasted strangely with the simple customs of their neighbors. One of these men was old Mr. Bock, a strange, original old gentleman. In Germany he had been owner of an estate (Rittergut), and is said to have had great wealth whcn he settled on Lake Creek. On his land he laid out a town, to which he gave the name of his former estate "Dutzow." We read further that Mr. Bock was very hospitable, that this hospitality was much abused; that hunting parties constituted some of his diversions; that Mr. Bock planned any projects the execution of which would have required millions of capital.

is adorned by a good library and a piano-forte. On this piano I played, it being the first time I had touched a piano since my trip across the Allegheny mountains, where I had the pleasure of finding such an instrument at an inn. About three o'clock we left Mr. Bock and visited Dr. Simons on his farm. There we met two of Mr. Krekel's sons. From there we went to the adjoining farm of Gottfried Duden, full of a certain yearning and with beating hearts, (the cause of which agitation is known to everyone in the Duchy of Berg). Now we were at this historic spot. Now we saw the hut in which *he* (Duden) had lived, the half finished log house, the shaded walk to the spring, Lake Creek, the courtyard, the field and finally the forest so fantastically described in the "Report." Everything was very much neglected. The fence had decayed and in great part had fallen down. The field was full of weeds, and a garden was nowhere to be seen. After Duden's departure the place was occupied by a renter, who met with a terrible misfortune. One day while the adults were away from the house one of the children playing alone around the hearth was pitifully burned to death. This sad occurrence was the cause of the family's leaving at once. Since that time the house has been occupied only occasionally by Germans. The field and all that belongs to the place had been sadly neglected. At present a German shoemaker, whose name is Piersteacher, lives there. He mended Glaser's shoes while we waited. This shoemaker, too, will soon leave. No one wants to live there, because no one wants to make the necessary repairs, and no one wants to pay the rent. Many a German has been at that place during the last six years in order to see *where* and *how* that one lived, who with magic power has lured hordes of the sons of Germany from their dearly beloved but oppressed and mistreated fatherland, who with magic pen has clothed this wilderness with such a pleasing and attractive garment, and who has banished the fear of those who thought that this was a country of Indians and wild beasts. How various are the feelings of those who followed his suggestions! The sensible person who has read Duden's book with normal imagination and with cool blood, and has read it entirely thru, and read it intelligently, and has understood and then has acted accordingly, such a person will not have cause to blame the author. He will say that those things which he finds to be different from what Duden has described them, to have been subjected to the laws of change, which are more active here than in most places.

"If the emigrant hopes to succeed he must be endowed with love for steady and sometimes hard work, he must have a sound brain and a sound body, and he must possess a small sum of money. But many of those who immigrated into this country and had read Duden's book, believed that they would find a paradise here and could get rich with but little work. They imagine that the people of the United States are angels, and they consider the Constitution of this country to be, in itself, a source of inestimable good fortune. But how disappointed they are here! Often accustomed to intoxicating pleasures, and given over to an easy-going, often indolent life, they find here nothing that corresponds to what they have been accustomed to. Constant work, a simple and frugal mode of living, and the all pervading solitude are simply horrifying to them. They find a strange language, different customs and manners, deceptive people, as in every other land. They find that the absolute condition of success, prosperity and contentment is hard work. They miss so many things which they were able to enjoy at home, and therefore feel justified in expressing their discontent and displeasure at one (Duden) who had the welfare of his countrymen so much at heart. It is true that the German who comes here loses much, even under the most favorable circumstances, and such loss must grieve him sorely, and he ought not to be criticised because he deplores this loss. The greatest loss which he sustains is the loss of Deutschtum, in the fullest sense of the word. This loss is especially painful during the first few years of American residence. I believe that adults feel it to a certain extent all their life long.

"After we had sampled some of the water of Duden's spring and also tasted the water the oft-mentioned Lake Creek, we went into the hut and read a few of Duden's letters, a copy of which I carried with me. Then we went to the other side where Louis Eversmann's farm adjoins the old Duden place. Eversmann was plowing in the field, but his wife, one son and two daughters were at home. In the evening Eversmann came home and received us very politely and hospitably. We accompanied him to his brother-in-law, Mr. Bluemle, who had asked him to alter some calves for him. We spent the night with the Eversmanns. Eversmann's farm embraces more than 400 acres. He owns a man slave and a woman slave and a negro child. He has a large herd of cattle, many hogs and some horses. He, as also his slaves, work very hard. His wife, an American woman, was spinning flax when we arrived. Eversmann has become very much Americanized. His children speak English and do not understand any German, because their parents speak only English with them. In one thing this man, however, has not been Americanized; he still smokes his long, German pipe. We talked about all sorts of things but especially about the affairs of our relatives whom we are expecting to come. Eversmann gave me much good advice, which I deeply appreciated. This former companion of Dr. Duden entertains the same views in regard to this man and his work that I do. The price of land in this vicinity is high, from eight to ten dollars an acre, and the soil is not of the best variety at that.

"May 27. This morning we inspected the neighboring farms. We also visited the old economist, Jacob Haun, who lived here before Duden came, and whom the latter mentions in his book. He was sitting in a chair and taking care of a grandchild.

After dinner we took leave of our kind hosts, the Eversmanns. Since I am obliged to be back in St. Louis by the 31st of this month, I cannot continue my journey. Upon the advice of Eversmann and von Spankeren we decided to cross the Missouri and visit the little town of Washington on the south side of the river. In our endeavor to get to the river we became lost in the woods. After much wandering we finally came to William Hancock's farm which is four miles from Eversmann's place, on the river. At Hancock's we met a

German physician, Dr. Humbert, who crossed the Missouri with us. In Washington we stopped with a Mr. Eberius, a German who has a store. He has a German clerk named Menges. There is also a German saddler, Mr. Fricke, in Washington. The town, which was but recently begun, has at the most, ten scattered houses. It is prettily located on a hill which here comes close to the bank of the river. The natural landing for steamboats is very good.

"May 28. Today we looked at some pretty farms about five or six miles south of Washington. There, two brothers named Richardson own farms of 120½ and 240 acres, respectively. Both have 40 acres cleared. One of them asks $700.00, the other $1200.00. The farm of their old mother can probably, also be bought for about $5.00 an acre. Several other farms are for sale there. The soil is very good, the location healthful and the water excellent. The adjoining timber land is also good. Two Germans have bought farms here and seem to be well pleased. The roads are good and there is a mill in the neighborhood.

"May 29. Today we left Washington and went to the Dubois Creek, to Point Labadie, and thence to Tavern Creek, and Wild Horse Creek. The nearer we came to St. Louis the wilder and more inhospitable did we find the country to be. We again stopped at Terril, where we saw some strawberries.

"May 30. This morning we went to Florenz Kochs' and then to Wirth, from where we went to Mrs. Bacon's farm. Later we visited the brothers Kayser. In the Bonhomme bottom we visited Hermann Heinrich Honnem, who, in good old-fasioned manner met us at the gate and welcomed us most cordially, and altho we were not especially well acquainted he offered us a beaker of punch. He and his good wife are simple, obliging and hospitable countryfolk.

"May 31. We did not succeed in finding Dr. Kueckelhahn, who lives in Honnem's neighborhood, at home, but we were fortunate enough to meet him on the road. We passed thru the little town of Chesterfield, an insignificant place, and then went on and on thru poor timber and deforested land back to St. Louis. Tired out, we finally arrived at Greef's house at eight o'clock in the evening.

"June 17. This evening a company of immigrants from Westphalia under the guidance of Dr. Pulte arrived on the steamboat Clayborne. They came via New Orleans. Five of their number had died on their way here. During the 1st few days the rumor had again found currency that the cholera has appeared once more. It is said that several cases of death by this plague have occurred.

"June 19. I helped several immigrants to find boarding houses. They plan to go to the country soon.

"June 23. Today the steamboat Chester brought German immigrants from Hessen-Darmstadt. I helped to find dwellings for them.

"June 25. Received a letter from father. Letter was written in Fredericktown, Maryland. All immigrants in his party are well and happy.

(Here the diary is interrupted. The company just spoken of, coming under the guidance of Hermann Steines' brother, Frederick Steines, arrived in St. Louis. The cholera soon visited the poor immigrants. In a later account of Frederick Steines the ravages of this plague will be treated in detail. Later on Hermann Steines took up his diary again. In the following some interesting items are given. They reflect some phases of the life of the early Missourian, and are inserted here, rather than later on in our story, because they conclude Hermann Steines' contribution to our account, his brother Frederick furnishing the data for its conclusion).

"January 25, 1837. Today I went to the horsemill at the Harris place and ground two bushels of wheat. Every man who came had to use his own horses to run the mill.

"January 29. This morning I rode over to Mr. McKennon's to fetch him some hog brains to be used in the preparation of buck-skin leather.

"February 8. Early this morning I left for St. Louis. On account of the morass which was supposed to be a road, I could not get farther than Harrison's, thirteen miles on this side of St. Louis.

"February 9. I arrived in St. Louis at noon. At the city market I sold my produce, namely: ten pounds of fresh butter at 31¼ cents a pound, 12 pounds of old butter at 25 cents a pound, and four dozens of eggs at 25 cents a dozen.

"February 11. Ball and Kincaid are planning to plot sites for two towns. One of these is to be named St. Albans.

"February 15. Hammerstein came after his venison today.

"March 2. Dr. Kincaid came back from St. Louis. He showed us a plan for the site of the proposed town of St. Albans. The plan was made by Kayser.

"March 4. This evening I got my buckskin breeches from Mr. Farmer.

"March 6. I rode to St. Louis today carrying twenty-two dozens of eggs and eleven pounds of butter on my horse.

"March 22. Ordered a new wagon from the wainwright near the jail. It will cost me $150.00.

"March 26. On the Wild Horse Creek, Johnson, Hancock, and B. and Ruben Bacon have sold their farms to Germans.

"April 4. The snow lay 1½ feet deep this morning.

"April 7. We could not work outside today because of the cold. So we camped around the hearth all day.

"April 15. Sowed oats today and dragged them in with a branch of a tree.

"May 5. The assessor of St. Louis, Mr. Patterson, was here today. Assessed me as follows: two horses, $50.00, six head of cattle, $72.00, one watch, $5.00. Total state taxes are 52½ cents, of which 37½ are for poll tax.

"May 20. Went to the log rolling at Mr. Halbach's.

"May 29. Squirrels are destroying the corn crop. Birds and raccoons are also very destructive to the fields.

"July 11. Mr. Farmer cradled my wheat today, and mother and I bound it.

"July 14. Mother and I cut our rye with a scythe.

"July 16. Rode to Harris this morning to get the newspapers. The heavy rain had caused all the creeks and rivers to flood the low lands, so the mail carrier was not able to make the trip from Jefferson City since July 10. The Missouri and Meramec are flooding the low lands and are doing much damage.

"July 28. With my two horses I helped Gross and Paffrath trample out their wheat.

"August 5. Threshed our peas at home after having hauled them in with my ox team.

"August 10. Mr. Bornefeld made me a lot of cigars from home-grown tobacco.

"August 14. Got the threshing ground ready.

"August 19. Gross and Paffrath helped trample out our grain.

"August 20. Threshed or rather hulled clover. Mother and I filled the matresses with fresh straw.

"August 23. Greef came after our threshing flail.

"August 26. Winnowed the oats. Got twenty-four bushels of which I put thirteen bushels into a "gum," that is a piece of hollowed out tree.

"August 31. The mail carrier failed to come on the last two mail days. Harrison who had contracted to carry the mail from St. Louis to Jefferson City for $500.00 a year, has become bankrupt. They say we shall not get any papers and letters till a new contract is made for carrying the mail.

"September 3. We are drying peaches and apples.

"September 5. I chinked and daubed with mud the cracks in the walls of my house.

"September 9. Hung tobacco in the barn to dry.

"October 10. Rode to Engels' place to a house raising. Halbach, Pfaffrath, Gross, Ragip, Nathan Bacon, Tippet, Farnur, Ferrir, Gaw, Lowe, Brown and Engels took part in the work. We finished before the rain ad were home in good time.

"October 21. At our house raising today we laid up five logs on each of the long sides and four on each of the short sides of the building. Gross and Greef were the corner men. ....Jacob Ridenhour was here and he agreed to split 1000 fence rails for me at five bits a hundred. He will take his pay in wool at 37½ cents a pound.

"October 26. At Mr. Harris' place there was a meeting at which a Baptist preacher, Mr. Green, spoke.

"October 27. Today we got four gallons of honey from our bee hives.

"October 29. Greef went to Union to take the oath as American citizen.

"November 3. Judge Evans of St. Francois County was three and a half days late for session of the court.

"December 1. Went to a meeting at Brawly's house where Mr. Rennick preached on: 'The salvation of the repentant sinner and the damnation of the wicked.'

"December 9. A Frenchman by the name of LeBaux has bought the Belloux section on which Brueggerhof is living.

"December 10. Went to a meeting at Mr. Bacon's house. Neighbor Brawly preached, using the text: 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.'

"November 13, 1833. Volunteers are coming back from the Mormon affair."

The Story of the First German Schoolmaster West of the Mississippi.

Among those who were induced to seek their fortune in America, after Gottfried Duden's "Bericht" had pointed the way to the trans-Mississippi country, was Frederick Steines, the head of the so-called Solingen Emigration Society. He was a brother of Hermann Steines whose letters and diaries have previously been considered in this publication. Frederick Steines left an immense amount of letters and other writings which are full of historic facts. Almost all these documents are in the German language. They are here translated and printed for the first time.

We are fortunate to have the autobiography of this excellent man up to his twenty-seventh year, in his own handwriting. A note appended to the document makes it clear that this sketch was prepared for a gathering of teachers in Neu Loehdorf, Germany. This note has the added interest of showing that the profession of teacher had many unpleasant phases connected with it. It further is interesting since undeniable injustice on the part of school and military authorities was the main cause that induced Steines to leave his ardently beloved fatherland.

FREDERICK STEINES AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

"I was born on December 4, 1802, at Kettwig on the Ruhr river. My parents, who are still living, are the master shoemaker, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Steines and Anna Catharine Steines, nee Unterlehberg. Of my early childhood I do not remember much that had any bearing of the development of my character. Once when I thought that my mother had done me a wrong, I decided to run away. I carried out my plan and it was late at night when some good-hearted persons took me home again. I liked to play with other children, and took a lively interest in our games, but I could not bear to be imposed upon. In such an extremity I either took the measure of the other fellow, or I left the game.

"When I was not yet five years old I was sent to the village school. But when soon thereafter Mr. Birkmann, the present inspector of the seminary at Soest, became the teacher of the parish school, I was sent to this school, because Mr. Birkmann was a dear friend of my father. In this school I studied the common branches and under private instructions I studied drawing, geography, piano and organ. At home my father insisted upon regular study periods. Since he was not wholly without knowledge of the higher branches of education, he was able to guide me and guard against slipshod work.

"During the summer months I was often obliged to work in the fields where my strength was often put to severe tests. Attendance at school, however, was rarely interrupted by such outside duties. During the long winter evenings all of us children (there were seven of us), sat about a long table in father's workshop and prepared our lessons. It was an attractive sight to see each one busy with his own task, one studying French, another his catechism, a third writing a composition and so down the line, my father stopping his work now and then to give assistance and to preserve order.

"The hours of play afforded me great delight. Having escaped the severity of parental supervision, I enjoyed the blessings of freedom to the fullest, romping with other boys, wandering thru fields and woods, or rowing in small boats on the beloved Ruhr river.

"Thus passed the first ten years of my life. Up to this time the yoke of French tyranny had rested heavily upon my Fatherland. In Kettwig it had been almost unbearable. Therefore the rejoicing was very great when the hour of deliverance had struck and when Kettwig again came under Prussian control.

"To the impressions and experiences of my youth, while my home was suffering under the galling oppression of France, I must attribute a certain trait of my character which makes it impossible for me to endure any act of injustice, especially when it is committed by one in power, just because he happens to have authority over me.

"My religious instruction I received from the Reverend Deegen in Kettwig, who taught me the beauties of liberal views concerning such matters. On the twentieth of May, 1816, I was confirmed. I was at that time only thirteen and a half years old, but because of my ability, and especially since the Reverend Deegen knew that I wished to devote myself to the calling of a teacher, I was admitted to confirmation.

"In the following September I became subordinate teacher in Barmen under Mr. Muentmann. My position was an unpleasant one, chiefly on account of the wife of my superior, and I rejoiced when my disagreeable connection with this position ended.

"On the 14th of February, 1817, I entered Professor Pabst's Normal School at Elberfeld where my older brother was engaged as subordinate teacher. How eagerly I embraced the opportunity that this excellent school afforded. The German language itself became the subject of most ardent study. The resolve to become absolute master of my mother tongue was made on an occasion when on the playground a younger fellow student corrected a sentence in which I had incorrectly used a dative for an accusative. To improve my style

I began to write letters to a friend at home. These letters were of a scholarly content and were submitted to my teacher for criticism. Occasionally, however, the letters were not all submitted, for they sometimes contained passages, now in prose and then again in poetry, which glorified a little sweetheart I had left behind. This incident of my life I should not mention at all, if I did not attribute to it the fact that I did acquire a tolerably good style of writing, and because of the fact that I consider this the very best exercise in composition since heart and head were always vieing with one another.

"Unfortunately I was not able to stay with Professor Pabst long, since he presently left Elberfeld. My brother, having been called as teacher to Hassels, took me with him. After a short time I became subordinate teacher in Urdenbach. When in 1818 my brother was called to Loehdorf, I was called to Hassels to succeed him. I was then but fifteen and a half years old. I took the state examination and received a strong recommendation.

"During my free hours I was much in the open studying nature at first hand. I tried my hand at original poesie. Under the direction of Mr. Birkmann I studied logic, meeting with this gentleman twice a week to discuss my work. With the Vicar Bonrath I studied Latin. This language pleased me immensely so that I was reading Cornelius Nepos during the second year. I also undertook the study of Greek but got only as far as the declensions. Once each week I met with Mr. Dorp, a teacher, to discuss French works with him. My correspondence was kept up, and so the most perfect balance of intellect and heart was established.

"Into these, my happiest days, suddenly came great bereavement. My brother, the teacher at Loehdorf, died, so did two other brothers and a sister, so did my friend with whom I had carried on such a live correspondence, so did my little sweetheart. These blows seemed unbearable indeed.

"In the eighteenth year of my life I was elected to the position of teacher in Loehdorf, where my late brother had done such excellent work. Here I found an immense amount of work to do and this it was that helped to heal the awful wounds which fate had just struck in me.

"After two years of work in Loehdorf I spent a year in the service of my king. This was indeed a year rich in experiences. Perhaps at no time in my life did I gain so much knowledge of mankind as during this period of military service. My inborn feeling of justice was often greviously hurt, but the stern rules of military service always forced me to submit again to the restraint they impose, tho I always felt as if I were incarcerated.

"My period of military training having ended, I returned to my former station at Loehdorf, where my brother Peter had filled my place as teacher during my absence. With lofty ideals and firm resolutions I began again to teach, at the same time resolved not to neglect my own private study.

"In the meantime I had become acquainted with my present wife, whom I married on October 7, 1824. Our life has been a very happy one, and our union has been blessed with two healthy, happy children.

"On the whole, life in Loehdorf is very agreable, but as everywhere else, so here too, the pleasant is mixed with the unpleasant. There is much that oppresses me. It is especially disagreeable to me to see that certain authorities fail to oppose and remove certain things and conditions which they could very easily correct. However, I will not lose hope for and trust in our cause.

"This then is my biography. In reality it is only a fragment of the same. For good reason I have not given a complete picture of my life. I say, without reserve, that I should not have hesitated to do so if in our conference there did not prevail such a despisable spirit. Here brotherly love ought to bring us together and with its tender bonds should unite us all, here the greatest confidence ought to obtain, here we ought to feel true recreation after so many unpleasant experiences which we have. Instead of that, however, we often have here the very saddest experiences. There is indeed great need that under the present oppressive conditions the teachers should mutually lighten their load by close fraternal co-operation, but instead of that, the one regards the other with hostility. Oh, my brothers, think about it! Formerly it was different. Shall conditions remain as they now are? May God forbid!

Frederick Steines, Teacher."

New Lohdorf, October 2, 1830.

Among the Steines papers there are also found the two original communications of the school boards informing the young teacher of his election to the positions at Hassels and at Loehdorf. Some of the conditions therein set forth are interesting, and since they aid in a better understanding of Steines' later action they are here given.

Each document begins with the pious, once commonly used expression "In the Name of God. Amen!" Among other things we read in the communication from Hassels, which was dated July 2, 1818, "we expect that you will !mstruct the children, put under your charge, in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and in all those things which they ought to know. ——It is also expected of you that you will, from time to time, instruct the children in church songs, so that they shall gain proficiency in rendering such songs.——On Wednesdays and Saturdays you are to hear their assignments in the catechism. ——On Saturday afternoons you will have no school. ——In case of a funeral in your district, you are, upon request, obliged to attend with the school children and lead them in singing. For each such occasion you are entitled to a fee of forty cents. ——As compensation for your services as teacher you shall have the use of the school house and of a garden, which garden you may rent out with the consent of the directors. Moreover, free board shall be provided you in the homes of members of the Reformed Church, which home shall be assigned to you by the proper officers. Furthermore, you will receive a fixed salary of fifteen Thaler, in the currency of the Duchy of Berg. You will also be permitted to make an annual circuit of the community to collect voluntary contributions, on which tour one of the directors will accompany you. ——During the six summer months, from May 1 to September 1, you will also receive from each pupil a monthly tuition fee of 16 cents, and during the winter months a fee of

20 cents. ——The fuel, which you must buy, will be delivered free of charge. ——From every pupil which studies arithmetic, you will receive a monthly fee of 23 cents for the summer months and 32 cents for the winter months. For private instruction you will be allowed to charge as you please."

The communication of the board at Loehdorf reads, in part, as follows: "The subjects for instruction are: Reading, according to *correct pronunciation, penmanship and spelling, written and oral arithmetic, singing and sight reading of music, suitable drill for the development of the powers of reasoning, and exercises to teach correct expression of thought, natural history and general history. The most suitable method of presenting these matters is left to your judgment.

"You will be required to give your pupils instruction in Bible history to prepare them for their religious training. By your regular attendance at the church services, and by a blameless life you are to serve your charge as an example.

"You are to devote all your time to the duties of the school, and not participate in any other trade or business. But the purchase and sale on your part of the necessary school supplies shall not be interfered with.

"Since it is customary to accompany all public funeral processions with a choir of singers, it shall be your duty, at the request of the mourners, to lead the singing on the way to the cemetery. Your remuneration for such service will depend upon the voluntary contributions of the mourners.

"If the Community Club of your district should meet in the school house, it shall be your duty to keep the minutes of the proceedings, without extra compensation.

"As compensation for your services as teacher we abide by the following:

(a) You shall be allowed a tuition fee of 8 cents per pupil for each month. From those whom you supply with writing pens you shall be allowed to collect ten cents per month. It shall be optional on the part of parents, however,

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*This provision was necessary because of the presence of so many dfferent dialects that obtain in Germany.

to supply their children with pens themselves. In such cases you shall collect only eight cents.

(b) You shall receive the earnings of a fund of $425.00 which amounts to $20.20. It is the wish of the donors of this fund, however, that the teacher shall instruct, free of charge, such children of poor parents who have made proper application to the board of directors.

(c) You will receive an annual fixed salary of 250 francs from the communal treasury, and also 60 francs for fuel. For the payment of a properly certificated assistant teacher 150 francs have been set aside.

(d) We turn over to your use the dwelling of the teacher together with 87 square rods of land for your own use. If you desire, you may rent the land to some reliable persons and collect the rent. You will have to provide your own furniture. If, at any future time any profit should be derived from a tract of uncultivated land, which has become the property of the school, you shall also have the benefit of this income.

(e) You have our permission to make a circuit of the school district between Christmas and New Year to collect voluntary donations. You will be allowed an assistant on this tour. If you should not like to make this circuit in person, the directors will provide two suitable persons for this purpose."

Mr. Steines held the position as teacher in Loehdorf from 1820 to 1834, that is, to the time of his departure to America. He was a progressive in many ways and could not brook the many delays and the imperfections of a poorly organized government. He frequently took it upon himself to make suggestions to the officials. These suggestions were not always as kindly received as they were sincerely given. Among the papers preserved by Mr. Steines is a questionaire submitted by the Inspector of Schools in the Duchy of Berg. The third question deals with the matter of tuition and other money received: (a) Regularly; (b) By coercive means; (c) From poor fund; (d) Not collectable. The answer to this question runs thus: "(a) From 32 of my pupils (that is to say from 32 out of 267), I receive the monthly tuition regularly. (b) As a rule the collector of the community collects from 80 to 90 Thaler annually, which are paid to me usually half a year after the time it is due. (c) From the poor fund about 80 Thaler are received annually, which are usually paid from one to two or three years after payment has become due, and then generally with great reductions. (d) For the period beginning with October, 1826, to the end of July, 1830, the uncollectable tuition amounts to a little more than 67 Thaler, of which amount I have received nothing, in spite of the complaint which I have registered with the local and the communal authorities, and twice even with the state government. The uncollectable tuition for the fiscal year 1830 to 1831 amounts to nearly 40 Thaler, which I presumably shall also have to record in the great credit book."

"It is a lamentable fact that the school authorities do not recognize that the tuition system is a great hindrance to the development of our schools. The consequence of such a system of paying tuition are as follows: (1) It brings about impoverishment of the teacher. This prevents his further development, since not only the means for acquiring the necessary aids are wanting, but, worse still, the inclination is lacking. This impoverishment brings the teacher into a thousand embarrassing situations, and instead of his thinking solely about the advancement of his own work, his mind is harassed by thoughts as to how he can make both ends meet. (2) It creates disrespect for the teacher. He works a whole month for a paltry sum, and then is obliged to play the humble servant to collect this pittance, and must be constantly on his guard for fear of offending one or the other of his tardy patrons, for that might be an expensive business for him indeed. (3) Countless vexatious scenes arise between teacher and pupils, as well as between teacher and parents. (4) The discipline of the school is undermined.

"I shall not enumerate other points. It would lead to prolixity, which I detest. After all, what do all these complaints accomplish? As a rule nothing. At least my experience has taught me to doubt it.

"The government does not take hold effectively in this matter. If it did so, things would go better. The authorities admit that the teacher is entitled to his dues. Why then do they not have the people pay their taxes to those officers to whom they would pay them, for to the teacher they will not.

"The King and the officials of the government may think that the teachers in the Duchy of Berg are well situated. I assert that this is not true. The school system of the Duchy of Berg is poorly organized, because the teachers are not able to live carefree enough, not because they do not earn enough, but because they are not able to collect what they earn."

Ambitious and progressive as Mr. Steines was, he submitted to the proper authorities a plan for the laying out of a tree nursery. This plan was sanctioned by the authorities, and Mr. Steines proceeded to lay out the plot, prepare the soil and plant the trees. He cared for the same for years. In the end the government refused to pay the amount originally allowed, and, as far as can be ascertained from the correspondence, etc., the Prussian government remained Mr. Steines' debtor to the amount of about 50 Thaler. This provoked a good deal of spirited correspondence. The manifest injustice vexed Steines very greatly, so that, even in his old age, he could not speak of these matters without feeling.

Another bit of injustice to which Mr. Steines was subjected came in connection with his military duties. In a communication addressed to the king himself Steines begins thus: "When I, being convinced of Your Majesty's love of justice, wrote the poems which are contained in the booklet, entitled: 'The third of August, or the Celebration of the Birthday of our King Friedrich Wilhelm III' (Solingen 1831), where I spoke so enthusiastically of the advantages and the well-being of the Prussian state, it was impossible for me to suspect that so soon I should be placed in a position where I should have to plead for this same love of justice for my own protection against the hostile charges of one of Your Majesty's own officers, who has grievously attacked my honor, the highest possession a man has."

Briefly stated, Mr. Steines' complaint was as follows. After having completed his one year's military service, from which he was honorably discharged in December 1822, he was put among the reserves who were subject to the first summons. This obligation he faithfully fulfilled. After December 1831, as the law provided, he was subject to second summons. However, the military authorities, without cause, insisted upon keeping his name on the list subject to the first summons. Upon his complaint he was arrested and tried. At the time of his arrest his wife was in an advanced stage of pregnancy, whom he had to leave with three small children unprovided for. He had no time either to make provision for a substitute in his school. The trial was a farce, but later on the commandant of the battalion recited Steines' case before the militiamen of four towns in Steines' neighborhood, as a warning and an example. We read: "Thus I have come into disrepute far and wide, and so it will be impossible for me to remain in this country any longer unless my good name is restored. This sort of thing is incompatible with my official postition." The petitioner then prays that the king should cause the papers to be submitted to himself and after an investigation of the justness of the complaint publicly cause the proper amends to be made known. This letter to the king was written on November 2, 1833.

On the 23rd of January, 1834 the commandant at Cologne replied to this communication, stating in the first sentence that Steines' case was declared unfounded, but in the second sentence stating that the matter was dismissed and that the office who had caused the trouble was to be duly reprimanded for failure to transfer Steines to the second reserves. This unsatisfactory and most ambiguous reply quickly matured the plan of emigration long entertained by the Steines family.

They re-read Duden's book and resolved to cast their lot with many others in the hope of finding better conditions in the virgin forests of Missouri. Duden's farm near the present site of Dutzow in Warren County became the Mecca of the prospective emigrants. Before starting on the long journey, Frederick Steines had the good judgment to visit Dr. Duden in order to interview him personally in regard to the prospects in Missouri. Duden is said to have advised him that it would be better not to settle on the north side of the Missouri, as he had done, but to choose land in either St. Louis or Franklin counties, on the south of the river. He is said to have argued that St. Charles on the north side of the Missouri would never be a great city, while St. Louis surely would, and pointed out the important fact, that residence south of the great stream would afford better communication with the market of the latter city. Upon the further advice of Dr. Duden, it was resolved to send some one of the prospective emigrants to the new country to look the situation over and report their findings to the rest who were still in Germany. The choice, as we already know from previous letters, fell upon Hermann Steines, whose letters are familiar to the reader. The first letters written by him in the fall of 1833 were very enthusiastic. Other communications in a less encouraging tone did not reach his kin on German soil, for early in the winter of 1834 the Steines family and others with them had resolved to migrate to America.

On the second of January, 1834, Frederick Steines submitted his resignation to his school authorities. The following statement is taken from this document. "Since the year 1820 I have been teacher of the school here. Now the hour has come when I must sever the bonds that have officially bound me. As citizen and in my official and military relations to the state I have had so many bitter experiences, which in my opinion an upright citizen of the Prussian state ought not to have been subjected to, that I find myself compelled to make a change. Since I see no opportunity for a betterment of conditions here, I have resolved to migrate to North America. To Your Excellency I therefore submit the declaration that I herewith resign my position as teacher in Neu Loehdorf, and that at the end of the coming month of February, I shall cease to impart instruction."

When it became known that the Steines family intended to migrate to America, a number of families, mostly from Solingen, joined them, so that the so-called Solingen Emigration Society numbered in all 153 persons, men, women and children. Frederick Steines was the leader of this group, which chartered the ship "Jefferson," under Captain Marsteller. They sailed from Rotterdam on April 17, 1834.

The details of the journey are given in Frederick Steines' letters which are here translated.

Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War

ROLLIN J. BRITTON

SIXTH ARTICLE.

Returning to Joseph Smith, Jun, and his companions, we find that they reached Liberty jail on December 1, 1838, where they were visited by their families and numerous friends, including General Doniphan, during the month of December.

On January 16, 1839, Mr. Turner from the joint select committee, introduced a bill in the Missouri Senate to provide for the investigation of the late disturbances in this State. This bill provided for a joint committee to investigate the causes of the disturbances between the people called Mormons and other inhabitants of this State, and conduct of the military operations in repressing them, which committee shall consist of two senators to be elected by the Senate and of three representatives to be elected by the House of Representatives. The bill further provided that the committee should meet at Richmond, Ray County, on the first Monday in May and thereafter at such times and places as they should appoint, and made provision for organization and clothed the committee with the power of a court. This bill was passed by the Senate on January 31; but on February 4, the House laid it on the table until July 4, 1839, which made it too late to benefit the Mormons.

On Thursday, January 24, 1839, Joseph Smith wrote a letter as follows:

"To the Honorable the Legislature of Missouri:

Your memorialists, having a few days since solicited your attention to the same subject, would now respectfully submit to your honorable body a few additional facts in support of their prayer.

They are now imprisoned under a charge of treason against the State of Missouri and their lives and fortunes and characters being suspended upon the result of the criminal charges preferred against them.

Your honorable body will excuse them for manifesting the deep concern they feel in relation to their trials for a crime so enormous as that of treason.

It is not our object to complain—to asperse anyone. All we ask is a fair and impartial trial. We ask the sympathies of no one. We ask sheer justice; 'tis all we expect, and all we merit, but we merit that. We know the people of no county in this state to which we would ask our final trials to be sent are prejudiced in our favor. But they believe that the state of excitement existing in most of the upper counties is such that a jury would be improperly influenced by it. But that excitement and the prejudice against us in the counties comprising the fifth judicial Circuit are not the only obstacles we are compelled to meet. We know that much of that prejudice against us is not so much to be attributed to a want of honest motives amongst the citizens as it is to wrong information.

But it is a difficult task to change opinions once formed. The other obstacle which we candidly consider one of the most weighty is the feeling which we believe is entertained by the Hon. A. A. King against us, and the consequent incapacity to do us impartial justice. It is from no disposition to speak disrespectfully of that high officer that we lay before your honorable body the facts we do; but simply that the legislature may be apprised of our real conditions. We look upon Judge King as like all other mere men, liable to be influenced by his feelings, his prejudices, and his previously formed opinions. We consider his reputation as being partially if not entirely committed against us. He has written much upon the subject of our late difficulties, in which he has placed us in the wrong. These letters have been published to the world.

He has also presided at an excited public meeting, as chairman, and no doubt sanctioned all the proceedings. We do not complain of the citizens who held that meeting, they were entitled to that privilege. But for the judge before whom the very men were to be tried for a capital offense to participate in an expression of condemnation of these same individuals is to us at least apparently wrong; and we cannot think that we should after such a course on the part of the Judge, have the same chance of a fair and impartial trial as all admit we ought to have.

We believe that the foundation of the feeling against us which we have reason to think Judge King entertains may be traced to the unfortunate troubles which occurred in Jackson County some few years ago. In a battle between the "Mormons" and a portion of the citizens of that county, Mr. Brazeale, the brother-in-olaw of Judge King, was killed.

It is natural that the Judge should have some feeling against us, whether we were right or wrong in that controversy.

We mention these facts, not to disparage Judge King; we believe that from the relations he bears to us he would himself prefer that our trials should be had in a different circuit and before a different court. Many other reasons we might mention, but we forbear."

The letter was directed to James M. Hughes, Esq., Member of the House of Representatives, Jefferson City.

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 7709-11.)

On Saturday, January 26, 1839, the Mormon citizens of Caldwell County met at Far West and appointed a committee of seven, to-wit: John Taylor, Alanson Ripley, Brigham Young, Theodore Turley, H. C. Kimball, John Smith, and D. C. Smith to draft resolutions respecting their removal from the State according to the Governor's order, and to devise means for removing the destitute. This Committee reported to the reassembled meeting on the 29th, when John Taylor, as chairman, read the following covenant which was adopted, to-wit:

"We, whose names are hereunder written, do for ourselves, individually, hereby covenant to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities in removing from the State in compliance with the authority of the State, and we do hereby acknowledge ourselves firmly bound to the extent of all our available property, to be disposed of by a committee who shall be appointed for that purpose, for providing means for the removing of the poor and destitute who shall be considered worthy from this county till there shall not be one left who desires to remove from the State; with this proviso, that no individual shall be deprived of the right of the disposal of his own property for the above purpose, or of having the control of it, or so much of it as shall be necessary for the removing of his own family, and to be entitled to the overplus, after the work is effected; and furthermore, said committee shall give receipts for all property, and an account of the expenditure of the same." (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 730.)

The committee on removal provided for were: William Huntington, Charles Bird, Alanson Ripley, Theodore Turley, Daniel Shearer, Shadrach Roundy, and J. H. Hale, the first named being chairman. The above covenant was then signed by two hundred and fourteen persons—later on February 1st, the Committee on removal was increased to eleven by adding the names of: Elias Smith, Erastus Bingham, Stephen Markham, and James Newberry; Daniel Shearer became treasurer, and Elias Smith, clerk of this Committee.

On January 31, 1839, the bill of Mr. Turner, heretofore referred to, passed the State Senate but it was laid on the table of the House on February 4th, till July 4th, by a majority of seven and therefore availed the Mormons nothing.

Charles Bird was sent in advance to buy and store corn on the way, and to make contracts for ferriage across the Mississippi River.

On January 22nd a writ was served on the prisoners and they were taken to the Clay County Court House and their preliminary trial set for the 25th. The court convened on this latter date but this cause was continued till the 26th, and then adjourned until Monday, January 28th, 1839; by noon of that date the evidence was all in. This hearing was before Judge Turnham. A day and a half was devoted to the argument, the State being represented by a lawyer by the name of Wood, while speeches for the defense were made by Alexander W. Doniphan, Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight and Calib Baldwin. The result of it all was that Sidney Rigdon was admitted to bail and the others were all remanded to jail without bail. Rigdon gave bail and was released from jail on February 5th.

On February 7th, Alanson Ripley, David Holman, Watson Barlow, William Huntington, Jr., Erastus Snow and Cyrus Daniels were visitors at the jail and they remained till supper time. As Cyrus Daniels was being let out by the jailer Hyrum Smith made an effort to slip out behind Daniels but the jailer caught him and returned him to the jail, where the five remaining visitors were also locked in with the prisoners, and charged with being accessory to an attempted jail break. Erastus Snow was acquitted of the charge but the other four were held to bail in the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars each. They were kept in jail till the 13th on which day they gave bail and were permitted to go home.

On March 1st the prisoners made an ineffectual attempt to bore holes through the walls of the log jail—just how they obtained augers for the purpose does not appear, but the logs were too hard for them and this effort to make a breach failed. On March 15th the prisoners prepared petitions to the Supreme Court praying writs of habeas corpus. These petitions were carried to Jefferson City, but it does not appear that any action was taken on them.

On April 6, 1839, Judge Austin A. King ordered the prisoners taken to Daviess County and they left jail at Liberty under a guard of about ten men commanded by Samuel Tillery, deputy jailer of Clay County. On Monday, April 8th, the party reached a point in Daviess County about a mile from Gallatin, where the prisoners were delivered into the hands of William Morgan, sheriff of Daviess County. The grand jury was in session in Daviess County at that time, it being the regular April term of Circuit Court and that day the said grand jury returned a true bill for treason against all of the prisoners along with many others. The text of the indictment being as follows:

"In Daviess Circuit Court, April Term,
Eighteen hundred and thirty-nine.

State of Missouri,
County of Daviess.

Daviess County, towit:

The Grand Jurors, for the State of Missouri, for the body of the County of Daviess, aforesaid, upon their oath. present that Jacob Gales, Hiram Smith, Thomas Rich, Joseph Smith, Jr., Lyman Wight, E. Robertson, William Whiteman, Lemuel Bent, Joseph W. Younger, David Petigrew, Edward Patridge, George W. Robertson, Washington Voorhies, Jesse D. Hunter, James H. Rollins, Sidney Tanner, David Carns, Alonson Ripley, James Worthington, George W. Harris, Alexander McCrary, Tenor Brunston, Thomas D. March, James Durphy, Perry Durhpy, George Hinkle, Arthur Morrison, Chas. Higby, Parley P. Pratt, Reynolds Calhoon, Vincent Knight, George Morry, Daniel Carns, Caleb Baldwin, Ebenezer Page, Parley Page, Roswell Stephens, Jabes Durphy, Moses Daily, Benj. Durphee, James Whitaker, late of the County of ——— being citizens of our said state, not having the fear of God in their hearts nor weighing their allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil as false traitors against the laws of our said state, and wholly withdrawing the cordial love and true and due obedience which every true and faithful citizen of our said state should and ofright ought to bear towards the laws of our said state and contriving with all their strength intending traitorously, to break and disturb the peace and common tranquility of this said State of Missouri, and to stir and move and excite insurrection, rebellion and war against our said State within this State and to subvert and alter the legislature, rule, and government now duly and happily established in this state on the ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers other days and times as well as before as after at the county of Daviess, aforesaid. Maliciously, with force and arms and of their malice and aforethought did amongst themselves and with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown, conspire, compass, imagine, and intend to stir up and excite insurrection, rebellion and war against our said state within this state of Missouri to subvert and alter the legislature, rule and government now duly and happily established within this state, and to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid with force and arms on the said ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers and other days and times as well before as after, at the County of Daviess, aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did meet, conspire, consult and agree among themselves and together with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown, to cause and procure a convention and meeting of divers citizens of this state to be assembled and held within this state with intent and in order that the persons to be assembled at such meeting should and might wickedly and traitorously without authority and in defiance of the laws of this state, levy war against our said state and subvert and cause to be subverted and altered the legislature, rule and government of this state now duly and happily established in this state. And further, to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid and in order the more readily and effectually to assemble such convention and meeting as aforesaid for the traitorous purposes aforesaid and thereby to acomplish the said purposes, the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, together with divers false traitors whose names are to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid with force and arms on the—— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers other days and times as well before as after at the County of Daviess, aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did compose and write and did then and there, maliciously and traitorously cause to be composed and written, divers pamphlets, letters, instructions, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses and wrtiings and did there and then, maliciously and traitorously publish and did there and then maliciously and traitorously cause to be published, divers other pamphlets, letters, instructions, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses and writings, the said pamphlets, letters, instructions, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses and writings so respectively composed, written, published and caused to be composed, written and published, purporting and containing therein among other things, incitements, encouragements and exortations, to move, induce and pursuade the citizens of our said state to levy war against our said state and to adhere, to the enemies of our said state and to give them aid and comfort in time of war and further fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid and in order the more readily and effectually to assemble such convention and meeting as aforesaid for the traitorous purposes aforesaid and thereby to accomplish the same purpose the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, on the —— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, aforesaid and on divers other days and times as well before as after, with force and arms at the County of Daviess, aforesaid, did meet, consult and deliberate among themselves and together with other false traitors whose names are to Jurors aforesaid unknown of and concerning the calling and assembling such convention and meeting as aforesaid for the traitorous purposes aforesaid and how, when and where such convention and meeting should be assembled and held and by what means the citizens of our said state should and might be induced and moved to convene and meet in said convention and meeting. And further to fulfil—perfect and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid and in order the more readily and effectually to assemble such convention and meeting as aforesaid for the traitorous purposes aforesaid, and thereby to accomplish the same purposes, the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown on the said ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight and on divers other days and times as well before as after with force and arms, at the County of Daviess, aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did consent and co-operate among themselves and together with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown for and towards the calling and assembling such convention and meeting as aforesaid for the traitorous purposes of aforesaid. And further, to fulfil, perfect, bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable practices compassings and imaginations aforesaid the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown on the said ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, with force and arms, at the County of Daviess, aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did cause and procure to be made and provided and did then and there, maliciously and traitorously consent and agree to the making and providing of divers arms and offensive weapons—towit: guns, muskets, pikes and axes for the purposes of arming divers citizens of our said state in order and to the intent that same citizens should and might unlawfully, forcibly and traitorously oppose and withstand the officers of our said state in the due and lawful exercise of their power and authority in the due execution of the laws and statutes of this state and should and might unlawfully, forcibly and traitorously subvert, and alter and aid and assist in subverting and altering, without and in defiance of authority and against the will of the people of this state, the legislature, rule and government now duly and happily established in this state. And to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid, the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, with force and arms on the said first day of November in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers other days and times as well as before as after, at the County of Daviess, aforesaid, maliciously did meet, conspire, consult and agree among themselves and with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown, to raise and levy and make insurrection, rebellion and war within this state against our said State of Missouri. And further, to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect, their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid, the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, on the said ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after, at the County of Daviess aforesaid, with force and arms, maliciously and traitorously did meet, conspire, consult and agree together amongst themselves and together with divers other false traitors whose names to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, unlawfully, wicked and traitorously to subvert and alter and cause to be subverted and altered, the legislature, rule and government now duly and happily established in this state of Missouri. And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations as aforesaid and in order the more readily and effectually to bring such subversion and alteration last aforesaid, the said defendants as such false traitors as aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, whose names are to the said Jurors unknown on the said ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers days and times as well before as after, with force and arms, at the county aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did prepare and compose and did then and there maliciously and traitorously cause to be prepared and composed divers books, pamphlets, letters, declarations, instructions, resolutions, orders, addresses and writings and did then and there maliciously and traitorously publish and disperse and did then and there, maliciously and traitorously cause and procure to be published and dispersed, divers other books, pamphlets, letters, declarations, instructions, resolutions, orders, addresses, and writings so respectively prepared, composed, published dispersed as last aforesaid, purporting and containing therein amongst other things, incitements, encouragements and exhortations to move, induce and persuade the citizens of our said state of Missouri to aid and assist in carrying into effect such traitorous subversion and alteration as last aforesaid and also containing therein, amongst other things, information, instructions and directions to the citizens of our said state, how, when and upon what occasion the traitorous purpose last aforesaid should and might be carried into effect. And further, to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid, the said defendants as such false traitors,as aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said Jurors unknown, on the —— day of —— in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight and on divers other days and times as well before as after at the county of Daviess, aforesaid, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously aid, procure and provide and did and then and there, maliciously and traitorously did cause and procure to be provided and did then and there, maliciously and traitorously consent and agree to the procuring and providing arms and offensive weapons, towit: guns, muskets, pikes and axes, therewith to levy war, insurrection and rebellion against our said state within this State of Missouri, against the duty of the allegiance of the said defendants and further, to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their most wicked treason and treasonable compassings and imaginations aforesaid. The said defendant as such false traitors, as aforesaid, on the first day of November, the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and on divers other days and times as well before as after, at the county aforesaid, with force and arms, maliciously and traitorously did meet and collect and together armed with guns, muskets, pikes and axes and did then and there agree amongst themselves and together with divers other false traitors, whose names are to the said Jurors unknown, wickedly and traitorously, to subvert and alter and cause to be subverted and altered the laws, legislature, rule and government of our said state now duly and happily established in this state did meet and converse and collect together a large armed force and then and there did levy war against our said state and did then and there levy war against the people of this state—against the allegiance of the said defendants—against form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace and dignity of the state.

J. A. CLARK, Circuit Attorney.

On which was indorsed the following:

State
vs.
Joseph Smith
Lyman Wight
Hiram Smith
Caleb Baldwin and others.
} Treason.

A true bill.

Robert P. Peniston,
Foreman of the Grand Jury.

Witnesses:

Sampson Avard
Waterman Philips
Adam Blaxer
Josiah Morin
John Corril
J. L. Rodgers
Francis McGuire
Labum Morrin
Henry McHenry
John Edwards
John Brown
Robert McGaw
John B. Comer
Jackson Job
Ira Glaze."

There were numerous other indictments returned by this Grand Jury against the said Joseph Smith, Jr., Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, Caleb Baldwin and Hiram Smith, charging murder, treason, burglary, larceny, theft and receiving stolen goods, one of the other indictments being as follows:

"State of Missouri }
County of Daviess. } ss.
In the Circuit Court
April Term, 1839.

Daviess County, to wit:

The Grand Jurors for the State of Missouri for the body of the county aforesaid, upon their oaths present that Joseph Smith, Jr., late of said county, on the first day of October in the year of our Lord 1838, with force and arms, at the county aforesaid, of and from one Cornelius P. Lott, one saddle of the value of twenty dollars of the goods and chattels of George Worthington feloniously did receive and have, he, the said Joseph Smith, Jr., then and there well knowing the said saddle to have been taken, stolen and carried away, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace and dignity of the state.

J. A. Clark, Circuit Attorney.

(Endorsements on back.)

State
vs.
Joseph Smith, Jr.
Receiving Stolen Goods.
A True Bill.

Robert P. Peniston,
Foreman of Grand Jury.

Witnesses:
Sampson Avard."

The prisoners were arraigned before the Honorable Thomas C. Burch, Judge of Circuit Court of Daviess County and pleaded not guilty. The prisoners then took a change of venue from the Circuit Court of Daviess County on the ground that the Judge had been of counsel in the cause—and the court sent the various causes to the Circuit Court of Boone County, Missouri, and commanded the removal of the prisoners to the jail of said Boone County.

The proceedings are fully set out in the order made in the cause for receiving stolen goods heretofore cited, which order, with the sheriff's return thereon, made after the prisoners had escaped from him, while being transferred from Daviess County to Boone County, being as follows:

"At the April Term, 1839, of the Circuit Court held at and for the County of Daviess, in the State of Missouri, on the eighth day of April, 1839, at the house of Elisha B. Creekmore in said county, being the temporary place of holding the court for said county. Present the Honorable Thomas C. Burch, Judge, the following proceedings were had, towit:

The State of Missouri,
vs.
Joseph Smith, Jr.,
Lyman Wight and others,

Indictment for Larceny.

The judge of this court having been counsel in this cause and the parties therein not consenting to a trial thereof in this court, but the said defendants Joseph Smith, Jr. and Lyman Wight objecting thereto for the reasons that the judge of this court has been of counsel in this cause, it is ordered by the court here that said cause as to the said Joseph Smith, Jr. and Lyman Wight be removed to the Circuit Court of the County of Boone in the Second Judicial Circuit in this state. It is further ordered by the court here that the Sheriff of the county of Daviess do and he is commanded to remove the bodies of Joseph Smith, Jr. and Lyman Wight to the jail of the County of Boone and there deliver them to the keeper of said jail, together with the warrant or process by which they are imprisoned and held.

State of Missouri, }
County of Daviess. }

I, Robert Wilson, Clerk of the Circuit Court within and for the county of Daviess aforesaid, do certify that the foregoing is a true, full and perfect copy from the records of said court in the above cause.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my private seal, there being no official seal provided at office 11th day of April, 1839.

Robert Wilson, Clerk.

This is to certify that I executed the within order by taking the bodies of the within names Joseph Smith, Jr. and Lyman Wight into my custody and that I summoned a guard of four men, to wit: William Bowman, Wilson McKinney, John Brassfield and John Page to assist me in taking the Smith, Wight and others from E. B. Creekmore's, the place of holding court in the county of Daviess, to the town of Columbia in the county of Boone, State of Missouri, as commanded by said order and that on the way from E. B. Creekmore's in the county of Daviess aforesaid on the 16th day of April, 1839, the said Smith and others made their escape without the connivance, consent or negligence of myself or said guard.

July 6th, 1839.

William Morgan,
Sheriff of Daviess County."

It was the 15th day of April, 1839, that William Morgan with his four guards started from Daviess County with the prisoners, Joseph Smith, Caleb Baldwin, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight and Alexander McRae, to deliver the said prisoners into the care and custody of the sheriff of Boone County, Missouri, at Columbia. That night they staid with a man by the name of Cox, and on the 16th they traveled about. twenty miles and camped; that night all the prisoners escaped and the sheriff and guard returned to Gallatin and made the return heretofore shown. Major Joseph H. McGee in referring to the matter in his "Memoirs" says:

> "One of the guard, John Brassfield, owned the horses on which the prisoners were conveyed; as he was on duty the night they made their escape, and his horses were missing in the morning, it was always thought he got pay for his horses as well as allowing them to escape. Morgan, the Sheriff, left the country shortly after. Wm. Bowman, another one of the guards, was treated to a ride through the streets of Gallatin by the infuriated citizens of the county on a bar of steel, which probably caused his death. He never recovered from the shock and died shortly after."

Another account of this escape is told in the Mormon publication, "Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors," page 264, where it quotes Hyrum Smith as testifying before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, as follows:

> "There we bought a jug of whiskey, with which we treated the company, and while the Sheriff showed us the mittimus before referred to, without date or signature, and said Judge Burch told him never to carry us to Boone County and never to show thee mittimus; and said he, "I shall take a good drink of grog and go to bed; you can do as you have a mind to." Three others of the guard drank pretty freely of whiskey, sweetened with honey; they also went to bed, and were soon asleep, and the other guard went along with us and helped to saddle the horses. Two of us mounted the horses, and the other three started on foot, and we took our change of venue for the State of Illinois; and in the course of nine or ten days we arrived in Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, where we found our families in a state of poverty, although in good health they having been driven out of the State previously by the murderous militia, under the exterminating order of the Executive of Missouri."

In his summary of expenditures, Joseph Smith states:

"Before leaving Missouri I had paid the lawhers at Richmond thirty-four thousand dollars in cash. lands, etc., one lot which I let them have, in Jackson County, for seven thousand dollars they were were soon offered ten thousnad dollars for it, but would not accept it, For other vexatious suits which I had to contend against the few months I was in the State, I paid lawyers' fees to the amount of about sixteen thousand dollars, making in all about fifty thousand dollars, for which I received very little in return; for sometimesthey were afraid to act on account of the mob, and sometimes they were so drunk as to incapacitate them for business. But there were few honorable exceptions."

A Final Word.

Practically all of the surviving followers of Joseph Smith, Jr., succeeded, after many hardships, in reaching Illinois before the close of the Spring of 1839, where more tribulations were awaiting them, but here our story should end, though we feel it incumbent to gaze once more over the site of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

The same beautiful green bluff, surmounted by some of the same great trees overlook the same Grand River at the same spot still. The log cabin of Lyman Wight alone remains of all the buildings that once occupied the townsite. Above where stood the village is the same picturesque elevation warmed by the strata of linestone that compose it, adown the sides of which grow the wild cactus luxuriant, with its beautiful yellow bloom, and on the top of which stands a giant hackberry, at the foot of which is a little pile of limestone, loosened in the making of a shallow excavation in the top of the hill.

It was of this elevation surmounted by the great forest tree and limestone rock that Joseph Smith, Jr., made reference when he wrote:

"We arrived at Tower Hill (a name I gave it in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower)," and out of this has grown a legend cherished by thousands of people, most of whom are not friendly to the Mormons, the purport of which is that Joseph Smith, Jr., declared that particular spot to be the burial place of Adam. Joseph Smith, Jr., never made such an utterance, no follower of his cherishes such a notion. What Joseph Smith, Jr., did say about Adam-ondi-Ahman, was said with reference to his visit to the spot on Friday, May 18, 1838, of which he wrote:

> "In the afternoon, I went up the river about half a mile to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Rigdon and my clerk George W. Robinson for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, Township 60, Ranges 27 and 28 and Sections 25, 36, 31 and 30, which the brethren called Spring Hill; *but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-ondi-Ahman, because said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.*"

That spot will always be a Mecca for Mormon Missionaries and tourists.

—The End.

Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, An Unwritten Leaf of the War.

JOHN N. EDWARDS

THIRD ARTICLE (Reprint).

CHAPTER VII.

The Salinas was a river, and why should one beware of it? Its water was cool, the shade of its trees grateful, its pasturage abundant, and why then should the command not rest some happy days upon its further banks, sleeping and dreaming? Because of the ambush.

Where the stream crossed the high, hard road leading down to Monterey, it presented on either side rough edges of rock, slippery and uncertain. To the left some falls appeared. In the mad vortex of water, ragged pinnacles reared themselves up, hoary with the white spray of the breakers—grim cutthroats in ambush in midriver.

Below these falls there were yet other crossings, and above them only two. Beyond the fords no living thing could make a passage sure. Quicksands and precipices abounded, and even in its solitude the river had fortified itself. Tower, and moat, and citadel all were there, and when the flood-time came the Salinas was no longer a river—it was a barrier that was impassable.

All the country round about was desolate. What the French had spared the guerrillas had finished. To be sure that no human habitation was left, a powerful war party of Lipan Indians came after the guerrillas, spearing the cattle and demolishing the farming implements. These Lipans were a cruel and ferocious tribe, dwelling in the mountains of Sonora, and descending to the plains to slaughter and desolate. Fleetly mounted, brave at an advantage, shooting golden bullets oftener than leaden ones, crafty as all Indians are, superior to all Mexicans, served by women whom they had captured and enslaved, they were crouched in ambush upon the further side of the Salinas, four hundred strong.

The weaker robber when in presence of the stronger is always the most blood-thirsty. The lion will strike down, but the jackal devours. The Lipans butchered and scalped, but the Mexicans mutilated the dead and tortured the living.

With the Lipans, therefore, there were three hundred native Mexicans, skilled in all the intricacies of the chapparal —keen upon all the scents which told of human prey or plunder. As ghastly skirmishers upon the outposts of the ambushment, these had come a day's march from the river to where a little village was at peace and undefended. As Shelby marched through there was such handiwork visible of tiger prowess, that he turned to Elliott, that grim Saul who never smiled, and said to him curtly:

"Should the worst come to the worst, keep one pistol ball for yourself, Colonel. Better suicide than a fate like this."

The spectacle was horrible beyond comparison. Men hung suspended from door-facings literally flayed alive. Huge strips of skin dangled from them as tattered garments might hang. Under some a slow fire had been kindled, until strangulation came as a tardy mercy for relief. There were the bodies of some children among the slain, and one beautiful woman, not yet attacked by the elements, seemed only asleep. The men hushed their rough voices as they rode by her, and more than one face lit up with a strange pity that had in it the light of a terrible vengeance.

The village with its dead was left behind, and a deep silence fell upon the column, rear and van. The mood of the stranger Englishman grew sterner and sadder, and when the night and the camp came, he looked more keenly to his arms than was his wont, and seemed to take a deeper interest in his horse.

Gen. Magruder rode that day with the men—the third of July. "Tomorrow will be the Fourth, boys," he said, when dismounting, "and perhaps we shall have fireworks."

Two deserters—two Austrians from the Foreign Legion under Jeannigros at Monterey—straggled into the picket lines before tattoo and were brought directly to Shelby. They believed death to be certain and so they told the truth:

"Where do you go?" asked Shelby.

"To Texas."

"And why to Texas?"

"For a home; for any life other than a dog's life; for freedom, for a country."

"You are soldiers, and yet you desert?"

"We were soldiers, and yet they made robbers of us. We do not hate the Mexicans. They never harmed Austria, our country."

"Where did you cross the Salinas?"

"At the ford upon the main road."

"Who were there and what saw you?"

"No living thing, General. Nothing but trees, rocks, and water."

They spoke simple truth. Safer back from an Indian jungle might these men have come, than from a passage over the Salinas with a Lipan and Mexican ambushment near at hand.

It was early in the afternoon of the Fourth of July, 1865 when the column approached the Salinas river. The march had been long, hot and dusty. The men were in a vicious humor, and in excellent fighting condition. They knew nothing of the ambushment, and had congratulated themselves upon plentiful grass and refreshing water.

Shelby called a halt and ordered forward twenty men under command of Williams to reconnoitre. As they were being told off for the duty, the commander spoke to his subordinate:

"It may be child's play or warrior's work, but whatever it is, let me know quickly."

Williams' blue eyes flashed. He had caught some glimpses of the truth, and he knew there was danger ahead.

"Any further orders, General?" he asked, as he galloped away.

"None. Try the ford and penetrate the brush beyond. If you find one rifle barrel among the trees, be sure there are five hundred close at hand. Murderers love to mass themselves."

Williams had ridden forward with his detachment some five minutes' space, when the column was again put in motion. From the halt to the river's bank was an hour's ride. Before commencing the ride, however, Shelby had grouped together his officers, and thus addressed them:

"You know as well as I do what is waiting for us at the river, which knowledge is simply nothing at all. This side Piedras Negras, a friendly Mexican spoke some words at parting, full of warning and doubtless sincere. He at least believed in danger, and so do I. Williams has gone forward to flush the game, if game there be, and here before separating I wish to make the rest plain to you. Listen all, above and below the main road, the road we are now upon, there are fords where men might cross at ease and horses find safe and certain footing. I shall try none of them. When the battle opens, and the bugle call is heard, you will form your men in fours and follow me. The question is to gain the further bank, and after that we shall see."

Here something of the old battle ardor came back to his face, and his eyes caught the eyes of his officers. Like his own, they were full of fire and high resolve.

"One thing more," he said, "before we march. Come here Elliott."

The scarred man came, quiet as the great horse he rode.

"You will lead the forlorn hope. It will take ten men to form it. That is enough to give up of my precious ones. Call for volunteers—for men to take the water first, and draw the first merciless fire. After that, we will all be in at the death."

Ten were called for, two hundred responded. They had but scant knowledge of what was needed, and scantier care. In the ranks of the ten, however, there were those who were fit to fight for a kingdom. They were Maurice Langhorne, James Wood, George Winship, William Fell, Ras. Woods, James Kirtley, McDougall, James Rudd, James Chiles and James Cundiff.

Cundiff is staid, and happy, and an editor *sans peur et sans reproche* today in St. Joseph. He will remember, amid all the multifarious work of his hands—his locals, his editorials, his type-setting, his ledger, his long nights of toil and worry—and to his last day, that terrible charge across the Salinas. Water to the saddle-girths, and seven hundred muskets pouring forth an unseen and infernal fire.

The march went on, and there was no news of Williams. It was three o'clock in the afternoon. The sun's rays seemed to penetrate the very flesh. Great clouds of dust arose, and as there was no wind to carry it away, it settled about the men and the horses as a garment that was oppressive.

Elliott kept right onward, peering straight to the front, watching. Between the advance and the column some two hundred paces intervened. When the ambush was struck this distance had decreased to one hundred paces—when the work was over the two bodies had become one. Elliott was wounded and under his dead horse, Cundiff was wounded, Langhorne was wounded, Winship was wounded, and Wood, and McDougall, and Fell. Some of the dead were never seen again. The falls below the ford received them and the falls buried them. Until the judgment day, perhaps, will they keep their precious sepulchres.

Over beyond the yellow dust a long green line arose against the horizon. This was the further edge of the Salinas, dense with trees, and cool in the distance. The column had reached its shadow at last. Then a short, sharp volley came from the front, and then a great stillness. One bugle note followed the volley. The column, moved by a viewless and spontaneous impulse, formed into fours and galloped on to the river—Elliott leading, and keeping his distance well.

The volley which came from the front had been poured suddenly into the face of Williams. It halted him. His orders were to uncover the ambush, not to attack it, and the trained soldier knew as well the number waiting beyond the river by the ringing of their muskets as most men would have known after the crouching forms had been seen and counted.

He retreated beyond range and waited.

Elliott passed on beyond and formed his little band—ten dauntless volunteers who were anxious to go first and who were not afraid to die.

Shelby halted the main column still further beyond rifle range and galloped straight up to Williams:

"You found them, it seems."

"Yes, General."

"How many?"

"Eight hundred at the least."

"How armed?"

"With muskets."

"Good enough. Take your place in the front ranks. I shall lead the column."

Turning to Elliott, he continued:

"Advance instantly, Colonel. The sooner over the sooner to sleep. Take the water as you find it, and ride straight forward. Williams says there are eight hundred, and Williams is rarely mistaken. Forward!"

Elliott placed himself at the head of his forlorn hope and drew his sabre. With those who knew him, this meant grim work somewhere. Cundiff spoke to Langhorne upon his right:

"Have you said your prayers, Captain?"

"Too late now. Those who pray best pray first."

From a walk the horses moved into a trot. Elliott threw his eyes backward over his men and cried out:

"Keep your pistols dry. It will be hot work on the other side."

As they struck the water some Indian skirmishers in front of the ambush opened fire. The bullets threw the white foam up in front of the leading files, but did no damage. By and by the stray shots deepened into a volley.

Elliott spoke again, and no more after until the battle was finished:

"Steady men!"

Vain warning! The rocks were not surer and firmer. In the rear the column, four deep and well in hand, thundered after the advance. Struggling through the deep water, Elliott gained the bank unscathed. Then the fight grew desperate. The skirmishers were driven in pell-mell, the ten men pressing on silently. As yet no American had fired a pistol. A yell rose from the woods, long, wild, piercing—a yell that had exultation and murder in it. Wildly shrill and defiant, Shelby's bugle answered it. Then the woods in a moment started into infernal life. Seven hundred muskets flashed out from the gloom. A powder pall enveloped the advance, and when the smoke lifted Elliott was under his dead horse, badly wounded; Cundiff's left arm was dripping blood; Langhorne, and Winship, and McDougall were down and bleeding; Fell, shot through the thigh, still kept his seat, and Wood, his left wrist disabled, pressed on with the bridle in his teeth, and his right arm using his unerring revolver. Kirtley, and Rudd, and Chiles, and Ras. Woods, alone of the ten were untouched, and they stood over their fallen comrades fighting desperately.

This terrible volley had reached the column in the river, and a dozen saddles were emptied. The dead the falls received; the wounded were caught up by their comrades and saved from death by drowning. Shelby pressed right onward. At intervals the stern notes of the bugle rang out, and at intervals a great hearty cheer came from the ranks of the Americans. Some horses fell in the stream never to rise again, for the bullets plowed up the column and made stark work on every side. None faltered. Pouring up from the river as a great tide the men galloped into line on the right and left of the road and waited under fire until the last man had made his landing sure. The Englishman rode by Shelby's side, a battle-light on his fair face—a face that was, alas, too soon to be wan and gray, and drawn with agony.

The attack was a hurricane. Thereafter no man knew how the killing went on. The battle was a massacre. The Mexicans first broke, and after them the Indians. No quarter was shown. "Kill," "kill," resounded from the woods, and the roar of the revolver volleys told how the Americans were at work. The Englishman's horse was killed. He seized another and mounted it. Fighting on the right of the road, he went ahead even of his commander. The mania of battle seemed to have taken possession of his brain. A musket ball shattered his left leg from the ankle to the knee. He turned deadly pale, but he did not halt. Fifty paces further, and another ball, striking him fair in the breast, knocked him clear from the saddle. This time he did not rise. The blood that stained all his garments crimson was his life's blood. He saw death creeping slowly towards him with outstretched skeleton hands, and he faced him with a smile. The rough, bearded men took him up tenderly and bore him backward to the river's edge. His wounds were dressed and a soft bed of blankets made for him. In vain. Beyond human care or skill, he lay in the full glory of the summer sunset, waiting for something he had tried long and anxiously to gain.

The sounds of the strife died away. While pursuit was worth victims, the pursuit went on—merciless, vengeful, unrelenting. The dead were neither counted nor buried. Over two hunderd fell in the chapparal and died there. The impenetrable nature of the undergrowth alone saved the remainder of the fugitives. Hundreds abandoned their horse and threw away their guns. Not a prisoner remained to tell of the ambush or the number of the foe. The victory was dearly bought, however. Thirty-seven wounded on the part of Shelby needed care; nineteen of his dead were buried before the sun went down; and eight the waters of the river closed over until the jugment day.

An hour before sunset the Englishman was still alive.

"Would you have a priest?" Shelby asked of him, as he bent low over the wounded man, great marks of pain on his fair, stern face.

"None. No word nor prayer can avail me now. I shall die as I have lived."

"Is there any message you would leave behind? Any token to those who may watch and wait long for your coming? Any farewell to those beyond the sea, who know and love you?

His eyes softened just a little, and the old hunted look died out from his features.

"Who among you speaks French?" he asked.

"Governor Reynolds," was the reply.

"Send him to me, please."

It was done. Governor Reynolds came to the man's bedside, and with him a crowd of soldiers. He motioned them away. His last words on earth were for the ears of one man alone, and this is his confession, a free translation of which was given the author by Governor Reynolds, the original being placed in the hands of the British Minister in Mexico, Sir James Scarlett:

"I was the youngest son of an English Baron, born, perhaps, to bad luck, and certainly to ideas of life that were crude and unsatisfactory. The army was opened to me, and I entered it. A lieutenant at twenty-two in the Fourth Royals, I had but one ambition, that to rise in my profession and take rank among the great soldiers of the nation. I studied hard, and soon mastered the intricacies of the art, but promotion was not easy, and there was no war.

"In barracks the life is an idle one with the officers, and at times they grow impatient and fit for much that is reprehensible and unsoldierly. We were quartered at Tyrone, in Ireland, where a young girl lived who was faultlessly fair and beautiful. She was the toast of the regiment. Other officers older and colder than myself admired her and flattered her; I praised her and worshipped her. Perhaps it was an infatuation; to me at least it was immortality and religion.

"One day, I remember it yet, for men are apt to remember those things which change the whole current of the blood, I sought her out and told her of my love. Whether at my vehemence or my desperation, I know not, but she turned pale and would have left me without an answer. The suspense was unbearable, and I pressed the poor thing harder and harder. At last she turned at bay, flushed, wild, tremulous, and declared through her tears that she did not and could not love me. The rest was plain. A young cornet in the same regiment, taller by a head than I, and blonde and boyish, had baffled us all, and had taken from me what, in my bitter selfishness, I could not see that I never had.

"Maybe, my brain has not been always clear. Sometimes I have thought that a cloud would come between the past and the present, and that I could not see plainly what had taken place in all the desolate days of my valueless life. Sometimes I have prayed, too. I believe even the devils pray, no matter how impious or useless such prayers may be.

"I need not detail all the ways a baffled lover has to overthrow the lover who is successful. I pursued the cornet with insults and bitter words, and yet he avoided me. One day I struck him, and such was the indignation exhibited by his comrades that he no longer considered. A challenge followed the blow, and then a meeting. Good people say that the devil helps his own. Caring very little for God or devil, I fought him at daylight and killed him. Since then I have been an outcast and a wanderer. Tried by a military commission and disgraced from all rank, I went first to India and sought desperate service wherever it was to be found. Wounded often and scorched by fever, I could not die. In Crimea the old, hard fortune followed me, and it was the same struggle with bullets that always gave pain without pain's antidote. No rest anywhere. Perhaps I lived the life that was in me. Who knows? Let him who is guiltless cast the first stone. There is much blood upon my hands, and here and there a good deed that will atone a little, it may be, in the end. 'Of my life in America it is needless to talk. Aimless, objectless, miserable, I am here dying today as a man dies who has neither fear nor hope. I thank you very much for your patience, and for all these good men would have done for me, but the hour has come. Good-bye.' "

He lifted himself up and turned his face fair to the west. Some beams of the setting sun, like a benediction, rested upon the long blonde hair, and upon the white set lips, drawn now and gray with agony. No man spoke in all the rugged band, flushed with victory and weary with killing. In the trees a little breeze lingered, and some birds flittered and sang, though far apart.

For a few moments the Englishman lay as one asleep. Suddenly he roused himself and spoke:

"It is so dreary to die in the night. One likes to have sunlight for this."

Gov. Reynolds stooped low as if to listen, drew back, and whispered a prayer. The man was dead!

CHAPTER VIII.

Evil tidings have wings and fly as a bird. Through some process, no matter what, and over some roads, no matter where, the news was carried to Gen. Jeanningros, holding outermost watch at Monterey, that Shelby had sold all his cannon and muskets, all his ammunition and war supplies, to Gov. Biesca, a loyal follower of Benito Juarez. Straightway the Frenchman flew into a passion and made some vows that were illy kept.

"Let me but get my hands upon these Americans," he said, "these *canaille*, and after that we shall see."

He did get his hands upon them, but in lieu of the sword they bore the olive branch.

The march into the interior from the Salinas river was slow and toilsome. Very weak and sore, the wounded had to be waited for and tenderly carried along. To leave them would have been to murder them, for all the country was up in arms, seeking for some advantage which never came to gain the mastery over the Americans. At night and from afar the outlying guerillas would make great show of attack, discharging platoons of musketry at intervals, and charging upon the picquets at intervals, but never coming seriously to blows. This kind of warfare, however, while it was not dangerous was annoying. It interfered with the sleep of the soldiers and kept them constantly on the alert. They grew sullen in some instances and threatened reprisals. Shelby's unceasing vigilance detected the plot before it had culminated, and one morning before reaching Lampasas, he ordered the column under arms that he might talk to the men.

"There are some signs among you of bad discipline," he said, "and I have called you out that you may be told of it. What have you to complain about? Those who follow on your track to kill you? Very well, complain of them if you choose and fight them to your heart's content, but lift not a single hand against the Mexicans who are at home and the non-combatants. We are invaders, it is true, but we are not murderers. Those who follow me are incapable of this; those who are not shall not follow me. From this moment forward I regard you all as soldiers, and if I am mistaken in my estimate, and if amid the ranks of those who have obeyed me for four years some marauders have crept in, I order now that upon these a soldier's work be done. Watch them well. He who robs, he who insults women, he who oppresses the unarmed and the aged, is an outcast to all the good fellowship of this command and shall be driven forth as an enemy to us all. Hereafter be as you have ever been, brave, true and honorable."

There was no longer any more mutiny. The less disaciplined felt the moral pressure of their comrades and behaved themselves. The more unscrupulous set the Mexicans on one side and the Americans on the other, and elected to remain peaceably in the ranks which alone could shelter and protect them. The marches became shorter and the bivouacs less pleasant and agreeable. Although it was not yet time for the rainy season, some rain fell in the more elevated mountain ranges, and chilling nights made comfort impossible. Now and then some days of camping, too, were requisite—days in which arms were cleaned and ammunition inspected jealously. The American horses were undergoing acclimatization, and in the inevitable fever which develops itself, the affectionate cavalryman sits by his horse night and day until the crisis is passed. Well nursed, this fever is not dangerous. At the crisis, however, woe to the steed who loses his blanket, and woe to the rider who sleeps while the cold night air is driving in death through every pore. Accordingly as the perspiration is checked or encouraged is the balance for or against the life of the horse. There, horses were gold, and hence the almost paternal solicitude.

Dr. John S. Tisdale, the lord of many patients and pill-boxes today in Platte, was the veterinary surgeon, and from the healer of men he had become to the healer of horses. Shaggy-headed and wide of forehead in the regions of ideality, he had a new name for every disease, and a new remedy for every symptom. An excellent appetite had given him a hearty laugh. During all the long night watches he moved about as a Samaritan, his kindly face set in its frame-work of gray—his fifty years resting as lightly upon him as the night air upon the mountains of San Juan de Aguilar. He prayeth well who smoketh well, and the good Doctor's supplications went up all true and rugged many a time from his ancient pipe when the hoar frosts fell and deep sleep came down upon the camp as a silent angel to scatter sweet dreams of home and native land.

Good nursing triumphed. The crisis of the climate passed away, and from the last tedious camp the column moved rapidly on toward Lampasas. Dangers thickened. Content to keep the guerrillas at bay, Shelby had permitted no scouting parties and forbidden all pursuit.

"Let them alone," he would say to those eager for adventure, "and husband your strength. In a land of probable giants we have no need to hunt possible chimeras."

These guerrillas, however, became emboldened. On the trail of a timid or wounded thing they are veritable wolves. Their long gallop can never tire. In the night they are superb. Upon the flanks, in the front or rear, it is one eternal ambush—one incessant rattle of musketry which harms nothing, but which yet annoys like the singing of mosquitoes. At last they brought about a swift reckoning—one of those sudden things which leave little behind save a trail of blood and a moment of savage killing.

The column had reached to within two days' journey of Lampasas. Some spurs of the mountain ran down to the road, and some clusters of palm trees grouped themselves at intervals by the wayside. The palm is a pensive tree, having a voice in the wind that is sadder than the pine—a sober, solemn voice, a voice like the sound of ruffled cerements when the corpse is given to the coffin. Even in the sunlight they are dark; even in the tropics no vine clings to them, no blossom is born to them, no bird is housed by them, and no flutter of wings makes music for them. Strange and shapely, and coldly chaste, they seem like human and desolate things, standing all alone in the midst of luxurious nature, unblessed of the soil, and unloved of the dew and the sunshine.

In a grove of these the column halted for the night. Beyond them was a pass guarded by crosses. In that treacherous land these are a growth indigenous to the soil. They flourish nowhere else in abundance. Wherever a deed of violence is done, a cross is planted; wherever a traveler is left upon his face in a pool of blood, a cross is reared; wherever a grave is made wherein lies the murdered one, there is seen a cross. No matter who does the deed—whether Indian, or don, or commandante—a cross must dark the spot, and as the pious wayfarer journeys by he lays all reverently a stone at the feet of the sacred symbol, breathing a pious prayer and telling a bead or two for the soul's salvation.

On the left a wooded bluff ran down abruptly to a stream. Beyond the stream and near the palms, a grassy bottom spread itself out, soft and grateful. Here the blankets were spread, and here the horses grazed their fill. A young moon, clear and white, hung low in the west, not sullen nor red, but a tender moon full of the beams that lovers seek and full of the voiceless imagery which gives passion to the songs of the night, and pathos to deserted and dejected swains.

As the moon set the horses were gathered together and tethered in amid the palms. Then a deep silence fell upon the camp, for the sentinels were beyond its confines, and all within side slept the sleep of the tired and healthy.

It may have been midnight; it certainly was cold and dark. The fires had gone out, and there was a white mist like a shroud creeping up the stream and settling upon the faces oi the sleepers. On the far right a single pistol shot arose, clear and resonant. Shelby, who slumbered like a bird, lifted himself up from his blankets and spoke in an undertone to Thrailkill:

"Who has the post at the mouth of the pass?'

"Jo Macey."

"Then something is stirring. Macey never fired at a shadow in his life."

The two men listened. One a grim guerrilla himself, with the physique of a Cossack and the hearing of a Comanche. The other having in his hands the lives of all the silent and inert sleepers lying still and grotesque under the white shroud of the mountain mist.

Nothing was heard for an hour. The two men went to sleep again, but not to dream. Of a sudden and unseen the mist was lifted, and in its place a sheet of flame so near to the faces of the men that it might have scorched them. Two hundred Mexicans had crept down the mountains, and to the edge of the stream, and had fired point blank into the camp. It seemed a miracle, but not a man was touched. Lying flat upon the ground and wrapped up in their blankets, the whole volley, meant to be murderous, had swept over them.

Shelby was the first upon his feet. His voice rang out clear and faultless, and without a tremor:

"Give them the revolver. Charge!"

Men awakened from deep sleep grapple with spectres slowly. These Mexicans were spectres. Beyond the stream and in amid the sombre shadows of the palms, they were invisible. Only the powder-pall was on the water where the mist had been.

Unclad, barefooted, heavy with sleep the men went straight for the mountain, a revolver in each hand, Shelby leading. From spectres the Mexicans had become to be bandits. No quarter was given or asked. The rush lasted until the game was flushed, the pursuit until the top of the mountain was gained. Over ragged rock, and cactus, and dagger-trees the hurricane poured. The roar of the revolvers was deafening. Men died and made no moan, and the wounded were recognized only by their voices. When it was over the Americans had lost in killed eleven and in wounded seventeen, most of the latter slightly, thanks to the darkness and the impetuosity of the attack. In crawling upon the camp, the Mexicans had tethered their horses upon the further side of the mountain. The most of these fell into Shelby's hands, together with the bodies of the two leaders, Juan Anselmo, a renegade priest, and Antonio Flores, a young Cuban who had sold his sister to a wealthy *haciendaro* and turned robber, and sixty-nine of their followers.

It was noon the next day before the march was resumed —noon with the sun shining upon the fresh graves of eleven dauntless Americans sleeping their last sleep, amid the palms and the crosses, until the resurrection day.

There was a grand *fandango* at Lampasas when the column reached the city. The bronzed, foreign faces of the strangers attracted much curiosity and more of comment; but no notes in the music jarred, no halt in the flying feet of the dancers could be discovered. Shelby camped just beyond the suburbs, unwilling to trust his men to the blandishments of so much beauty, and to the perils of so much nakedness.

Stern camp guards soon sentinelled the soldiers, but as the night deepened their devices increased, until a good company had escaped all vigilance and made a refuge sure with the sweet and swarthy *senoritas* singing:

"O ven! ama!
Eres alma,
Soy corazon."

There were three men who stole out together in mere wantonness and exuberance of life—obedient, soldierly men—who were to bring back with them a tragedy without a counterpart in all their history. None saw Boswell, Walker and Crockett depart—the whole command saw them return again, Boswell slashed from chin to waist, Walker almost dumb from a bullet through cheeks and tongue, and Crockett, sober and unhurt, yet having over him the sombre light of as wild a deed as any that stands out from all the lawless past of that lawless land.

These men, when reaching Lampasas, floated into the flood tide of the fandango, and danced until the red lights shone with an unnatural brilliancy—until the fiery *catalan* consumed what little of discretion the dancing had left. They sallied out late at night, flushed with drink, and having over them the glamour of enchanting women. They walked on apace in the direction of the camp, singing snatches of Bacchanal songs, and laughing boisterously under the moonlight which flooded the streets with gold. In the doorway of a house a young Mexican girl stood, her dark face looking out coquettishly from her fringe of dark hair. The men spoke to her, and she, in her simple, girlish fashion, spoke to the men. In Mexico this meant nothing. They halted, however, and Crockett advanced from the rest and laid his hand upon the girl's shoulder. Around her head and shoulders she wore a *rebosa*. This garment answers at the same time for bonnet and bodice. When removed the head is uncovered and the bosom is exposed. Crockett meant no real harm, although he asked her for a kiss. Before she had replied to him, he attempted to take it.

The hot Southern blood flared up all of a sudden at this, and her dark eyes grew furious in a moment. As she drew back from him in proud scorn, the *rebosa* came off, leaving all her bosom bare, the long, luxuriant hair falling down upon and over it as a cloud that would hide its purity and innocence. Then she uttered a low, feminine cry as a signal, followed instantly by a rush of men who drew knives and pistols as they came on. The Americans had no weapons. Not dreaming of danger, and being within sight almost of camp, they had left their revolvers behind. Boswell was stabbed three times, though not seriously, for he was a powerful man, and fought his assailants off. Walker was shot through his tongue and both cheeks, and Crockett, the cause of the whole melee, escaped unhurt. No pursuit was attempted after the first swift work was over. Wary of reprisals, the Mexicans hid themselves as suddenly as they had sallied out. There was a young man, however, who walked close to Crockett—a young Mexican who spoke no word, and who yet kept pace with the American step by step. At first he was not noticed. Before the camp guards were reached, Crockett, now completely sobered, turned upon him and asked:

"Why do you follow me?"

"That you may lead me to your General."

"What do you wish with my General?"

"Satisfaction."

At the firing in the city a patrol guard had been thrown out, who arrested the whole party and carried it straight to Shelby. He was encamped upon a wide margin of bottom land, having a river upon one side, and some low mountain ridges upon the other. The ground where the blankets were spread was velvety with grass. There was a bright moon; the air blowing from the grape gardens and the apricot orchards of Lampasas, was fragrant and delicious, and the soldiers were not sleeping.

Under the solace of such surroundings Shelby had relaxed a little of that grim severity he always manifested toward those guilty of unsoldierly conduct, and spoke not harshly to the three men. When made acquainted with their hurts, he dismissed them instantly to the care of Dr. Tisdale.

Crockett and the Mexican still lingered, and a crowd of some fifty or sixty had gathered around. The first told his story of the *melee*, and told it truthfully. The man was too brave to lie. As an Indian listening to the approaching footsteps of one whom he intends to scalp, the Mexican listened as a granite pillar vitalized to the whole recital. When it was finished he went up close to Shelby, and said to him, pointing his finger at Crockett:

"That man has outraged my sister. I could have killed him, but I did not. You Americans are brave, I know; will you be generous as well, and give me satisfaction?"

Shelby looked at Crockett, whose bronzed face, made sterner in the moonlight, had upon it a look of curiosity. He at least did not understand what was coming.

"Does the Mexican speak the truth, Crockett?" was the question asked by the commander of his soldier.

"Partly; but I meant no harm to the woman. I am incapable of that. Drunk I know I was, and reckless, but not wilfully guilty, General."

Shelby regarded him coldly. His voice was so stern when he spoke again that the brave soldier hung his head:

"What business had you to lay your hands upon her at all?" How often must I repeat to you that the man who does these things is no follower of mine? Will you give her brother satisfaction?"

He drew his revolver almost joyfully and stood proudly up, facing his accuser.

"No! no! not the pistol! cried the Mexican;" I do not understand the pistol. The knife, Senor General; is the American afraid of the knife?"

He displayed, as he spoke a keen, glittering knife and held it up in the moonlight. It was white, and lithe, and shone in contrast with the dusky hand which grasped it.

Not a muscle of Crockett's face moved. He spoke almost gently as he turned to his General:

"The knife, ah! well, so be it. Will some of you give me a knife?"

A knife was handed him and a ring was made. About four hundred soldiers formed the outside circle of this ring. These, bearing torches in their hands cast a red glare of light upon the arena. The ground under foot was as velvet. The moon, not yet full, and the sky without a cloud, rose over all, calm and peaceful in the summer night. A hush as of expectancy, fell upon the camp. Those who were asleep, slept on; those who were awake seemed as under the influence of an intangible dream.

Shelby did not forbid the fight. He knew it was a duel to the death, and some of the desperate spirit of the combatants passed into his own. He merely spoke to an aide:

"Go for Tisdale. When the steel has finished the surgeon may begin."

Both men stepped fearlessly into the arena. A third form was there, unseen, invisible, and even in *his* presence the traits of the two nations were uppermost. The Mexican made the sign of the cross, the American tightened his sabre belt. Both may have prayed, neither, however, audibly.

They had no seconds—perhaps none were needed. The Mexican took his stand about midway the arena and waited. Crockett grasped his knife firmly and advanced upon him. Of the two, he was taller by a head and physically the strongest. Constant familiarity with danger for four years had given him a confidence the Mexican may not have felt. He had been wounded three times, one of which wounds was scarcely healed. This took none of his manhood from him, however.

Neither spoke. The torches flared a little in the night wind, now beginning to rise, and the long grass rustled curtly under foot. Afterwards its green had become crimson.

Between them some twelve inches of space now intervened. The men had fallen back upon the right and the left for the commander to see, and he stood looking fixedly at the two as he would upon a line of battle. Never before had he gazed upon so strange a sight. That great circle of bronzed faces eager and fierce in the flare of torches, had something monstrous yet grotesque about it. The civilization of the century had been rolled back, and they were in a Roman circus, looking down upon the arena, crowded with gladiators and jubilant with that strangest of war cries: *Morituri te salutant*!-

The attack was the lightning's flash. The Mexican lowered his head, set his teeth, and struck fairly at Crockett's breast. The American made a half face to the right, threw his left arm forward as a shield, gathered the deadly steel in his shoulder to the hilt and struck home. How pitiful!

A great stream of blood spurted in his face. The tense form of the Mexican, bent as a willow wand in the wind, swayed helplessly, and fell backward lifeless, the knife rising up as a terrible protest above the corpse. The man's heart was found.

Cover him up from sight. No need of Dr. Tisdale here. There was a wail of women on the still night air, a shudder of regret among the soldiers, a dead man on the grass, a sister broken-hearted and alone forevermore, and a freed spirit somewhere out in eternity with the unknown and the infinite.

Historical Notes and Comments.

The October (1920) issue of the *Review* will be a Missouri centennial number. Twenty worthwhile contributions by that number of eminent authors and public men will depict the story of the State during the one hundred years of commonwealth history. Art, education, agriculture, banking, commerce, mining, transportation, journalism, church progress, labor and industry, literature, politics, social customs and usages, social reform, Missouri in 1820, Missouri in 1920, the travail of Missouri for statehood, and a model centennial program for local celebrations, will be some of the subjects considered. In short an attempt will be made in the July *Review* to survey briefly the social, economic, aesthetic and historical changes in Missouri during the last century. It will be an invoice of our assets and liabilities, of our successes and failures. Such an inventory should be worthwhile to all enlightened citizens of the State. It will surprise the majority of even well informed men and women to learn what changes have taken place in old Missouri. And it will be, on the whole, a most grateful and pleasing surprise.

The October *Review* should do much to stimulate interest in Missouri's centennial years, 1920 and 1921. In conjunction with such works as Houck, Shoemaker, Stevens and Violette, there is little excuse for each county in Missouri not holding some form of commemorative exercises. Initial organization for this purpose was effected in 113 counties and the City of St. Louis four years ago. These local county centennial committees should easily obtain the co-operation of other bodies in their communities. Local initiative will find a responsive public spirit. As in all historical matter, The State Historical Society of Missouri stands ready to render every possible assistance.

Owing to the size of the October, 1920, *Review* and the greatly increased size of the October, 1919, and the

April, 1920, issues, it will not be possible for the Society to print a large number of extra copies of the Centennial number. All persons desiring extra copies of the October *Review* must, therefore, make order accompanied with check or money order in advance by June 1st. The cost will be fifty cents a copy.

COMMENTS.

"The Missouri Historical Review is invaluable to me in my National Old Trails Road work and I could not get along without it."

Mrs. John Van Brunt, Chairman
National Old Trails Road Committee,
National Society of the Daughters of American Revolution,
Belton, Missouri,
November 17, 1919.

"I have read with great interest the numbers of the *Review*, and no doubt this publication will find favor with all who care to inform themselves in regard to the history of the great State."

Rev. H. Hussmann,
St. Louis, Missouri,
November 26, 1919.

"I like your policy of limiting the scope of the activities of your Society to matters clearly appertaining to your state history. As your know, abuse of the more general course is vicious and not uncommon."

Dr. Albert Watkins,
State Historian,
Nebraska State Historical Society,
Lincoln, Nebraska,
December 11, 1919.

"I am glad to see the *Review* growing larger and better. So far as I have ascertained, *The Missouri Historical Review* ranks with the very best of historical magazines published in America."

W. L. Skaggs,
Pocahontas, Arkansas,
January 2, 1920.

"The copy of the October *Review* has been received, for which please accept my thanks. It is very interesting, indeed, and has been an inspiration to me."

Mrs. M. Conlan,
Oklahoma Historical Society,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma,
December 2, 1919.

"I have read with very great interest the translation of the Duden Reports, which have been appearing in the *Review.*"

Hon. Richard Bartholdt,
St. Louis, Missouri,
December 1, 1919.

"I wish to thank you for the October number of *The Missouri Historical Review.* It is a mighty interesting and readable publication. Will you please add my name to the subscription list."

Dr. Richard L. Sutton,
Kansas City, Missouri,
December 8, 1919.

"I have just finished reading the October, 1919, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and I am greatly pleased with it."

Winfield S. Thompson,
Springfield, Missouri,
January 19, 1920.

"*The Missouri Historical Review* means much to me. I have read all of the numbers since I became a member and feel like congratulating you on your large contribution to Missouri history."

Prof. I. N. Evrard,
Dean, Missouri Valley College,
Marshall, Missouri,
September 22, 1919.

"I have read with a great deal of interest the information regarding the proposed publication of the history of the woman suffrage movement in Missouri in *The Missouri Historical Review.* After carefully consulting the literature on this subject, I find that this is the first instance of its kind in America, and I consider it very significant. In fact, I think the whole suffrage situation in Missouri is perhaps more remarkable than in any other state, and no doubt this is largely due to its excellent leaders. Not only historical societies, but the writers of history, have largely ignored women and almost wholly ignored woman suffrage. I sincerely hope that this progressive act of The State Historical Society of Missouri will inspire others to follow its example. Missouri is indeed fortunate in having the honor of publishing the first complete history of woman suffrage in an American commonwealth."

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Editor
History of Woman Suffrage in America,
New York City, N. Y.
January 15, 1920.

A MESSAGE TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

The addition during the last year of two hundred names to the membership roll of the Society is indicative of appreciation. The new members were obtained largely thru the personal initiative of old members. As examples, picked at ramdom, of what active members can do to disseminate knowledge of Missouri history thru calling the attention of others to the *Review*, Prof. C. H. McClure, of the Central State Teachers' College at Warrensburg, Mo., obtained twenty-two members; Prof. E. M. Violette, of the Northeast State Teachers' College, at Kirksville, Mo., obtained ten; Mrs. Elizabeth P. Milbank, of Chillicothe, Mo., obtained eight; Mr. Geo. A. Mahan, of Hannibal, Mo., obtained ten, and Mr. O. G. Boisseau, of Holden, Mo., obtained six. It is obvious that the character and size of the *Review* warrants a much larger investment than the dollar membership fee. Including the proposed centennial number of the Oct. (1920) *Review*, Volume XV will contain over 700 pages of solid printed matter! In book form, this historical material would cost at least five dollars.

The Society is not, therefore, seeking members with the sole end in view of obtaining a membership fee. It does desire however, to see a wider dissemination of knowledge relating to Missouri history. The Society has advanced from tenth to fourth rank in the Mississippi Valley in its membership during the last four years. It can easily have first rank this year with the co-operation of its members. If each member of this Society will obtain at least one new member, The State Historical Society of Missouri will take first rank in the number of members among the historical organizations west of the Alleghanies. This is a matter of State pride, for certainly a Missourian would be proud to point to it as an evidence of culture, education and patriotism. This is a matter of State progress, for certainly Missourians are aided by reading the historic contributions that appear in these pages.

DONATIONS.

The public spirit of Missourians is finely shown in their co-operation to preserve the past and present records for posterity. Unselfishness and even sacrifice here finds favor. In fact the library and collections of the Society are largely the offerings of the people laid on the altar of state history. The gifts to this Society of such a man as Wm. Clark Breckenridge, of St. Louis, have alone added hundreds of the rarest books and pamphlets to its library. Thousands of books and pamphlets are donated each year for the present and future history reading public. Among donations of rare value recently received, these are especially worthy of mention.

Mrs. D. V. Bogie, of Richmond, Missouri, donated twelve bound volumes of Missouri neswpapers, formerly edited by her husband: Huntsville, *North Missouri Herald* (3 vols.) 1870-1872; *Keytesville Herald* (1 vol.) 1872-1873; Carthage, *Jasper County Democrat* (1 vol.) 1884-1885, and the *Richmond Democrat* (7 vols.) 1879-1888.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Homer A. Danford, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a complete file of *The Handclasp Across the Sea* (1918-1919) has been donated to The State Historical Society. *The Handclasp* was issued by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat Composing Room. It was primarily intended for recording the records and news of the Globe-Democrat boys in service, but it was not confined to these. It is one of those publications issued from time to time that is full of deepest human interest. Unfortunately publications of this kind are usually so ephemeral that even public institutions are unable to obtain complete sets. The Society is indeed fortunate in having one set preserved.

An interesting work by Clarence F. Piesbergen, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, on *Overseas With An Aero Squadron* has been recently donated to the Society by the author. This publication is a record of the services of the 86th Aero Squadron of the United States Air Service. The book is most attractively made up and not only gives an account of the 86th Aero Squadron, but does this in a most interesting manner. In a way the 86th was Missourian, since a larger number of its members hailed from this State than from any other.

Capt. Geo. S. Grover, of St. Louis, obtained from Mrs. Emory S. Foster, of California, the gift to the Society of the saber, revolvers and spurs of the noted Missouri Union leader, Major Emory S. Foster.

The Missouri Council of Defense has placed its official correspondence files, containing thousands of letters, in the custody of the Society. These files will be placed in metal cases for permanent preservation.

Two Missourians in the Cabinet.

Hon. Joshua W. Alexander: If President Wilson's administration put the South in the saddle, as some affirm, it put Missouri on the saddle-horn. Never since the days of Lincoln has the State exerted such an influence in National affairs, when Edwards Bates was Secretary of War, Frank P. Blair, Jr., was Lincoln's "Colonel House" of the West, U. S. Grant, of St. Louis, was leading the boys in blue to victory over the boys in gray, and John Henderson was drafting the Thirteenth Amendment. The last eight years of Democratic rule in Washington have witnessed a Missourian, Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives; another Missourian, the late William J. Stone, chairman of the most important committee in Congress in time of war, the Foreign Relations Committee; another son, Breckenridge Long, in the State Department; another, Alexander M. Dockery, in the Post Office Department; another, David F. Houston, head of the Department of Agriculture and recently head of the Treasury Department; another, George Creel, head of the Bureau of Public Informaion; two more, David R. Francis and Hugh C. Wallace, ambassadors respectively to Russia and France; a full dozen in charge of the army and navy, and, since December, 1919, another son, Joshua W. Alexander, Secretary of Commerce.

"The President wants you to become Secretary of Commerce," was the manner of tendering the cabinet portfolio to

Secretary Alexander on December 3, 1919. No previous intimation of the honor was known either to the recipient or his friends. The appointment came as a surprise to all, for the "Judge," as his Missouri friends call him, had never been mentioned for the office and was not a candidate. It was purely a personal selection embodying the President's confidence in his friend's ability and integrity and recognition of meritorious congressional work.

Secretary Alexander has represented the Third Missouri Congressional District since 1907. He became chairmen of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries when the Democrats gained control of Congress in 1910. He drafted many laws of importance. Among them are the war risk insurance act, the soldier and sailors insurance law, the original act controlling wireless telegraphy, the ship purchase act which was defeated in the Senate, and the law (drafted by him in part) now operating to restore the American merchant marine.

Born in Ohio on January 22, 1852, Secretary Alexander was reared and educated in Missouri. By profession he is a lawyer. For forty-four years he has been in public life. In his home town of Gallatin, Missouri, he has served as both city and county official. He has also served in the State Legislature and, as circuit judge, on the State Bench. In 1913-14 he was chairman of the United States Commission to the International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea, which met in London.

Hon. David F. Houston: There was a unique fitness in President Wilson's appointment of David F. Houston to the office of Secretary of Agriculture on March 6, 1913. The first man to hold that position was another adopted Missourian, Norman J. Colman, whose life of patriotic service to the Nation and especially to the rural world, will never be forgotten. Equally noteworthy has been the record of David F. Houston. No member of the cabinet contributed more to the success of American arms during the World war than this St. Louis citizen and educator. Truth and not mere eulogy impels the statement that no single class of persons performed their work so well, accomplished the results requested so soon, and united in labor so patriotically, as the American farmer. The leader and director of the 40,000,000 American agricultural population, representing an invested capital of $40,000,000,000 was David F. Houston.

Born in North Carolina on February 17, 1866, he received his collegiate education in South Carolina College and Harvard University. His work until 1913 was along purely scholastic lines. He taught in the public schools of the South, was a tutor in ancient languages in a college, professor of political science in Harvard, president of the Agricultural College of Texas, president of the University of Texas, and Chancellor of Washington University, in St. Louis. In recognition of his educational work the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Tulane University, the Universities of Missouri, Wisconsin, Yale and Harvard.

His entrance into official public life began with his appointment to the office of Secretary of Agriculture. Leave of absence was granted him by Washington University until he requested that his resignation be accepted in 1917. Secretary Houston held his new position until January, 1920, when he was transferred by President Wilson from the Agriculture Department to the Treasury Department, being appointed to the headship of the latter. This last appointment was made in recognition of Secretary Houston's ability as an organizer and financial authority. Not only did this educator win commendation for his work as Secretary of Agriculture, but he also gained approbation for his quick grasp of banking and financial economics in his tour of the country several years ago to help determine the boundary lines and centers of the Federal Reserve Bank districts, of which two were located in Missouri, —at Kansas City and St. Louis.

A MISSOURI INSTITUTION PASSES.

One hundred and eleven years ago on July 12, 1808, there was founded in the town of St. Louis the first newspaper west of the Mississippi. It was called the *Missouri Gazette*; it became the *St. Louis Republic* with all that the latter name has implied for decades. The nineteenth centenarian in American journalism marked "30" on its copy of December 4, 1919, and a Missouri institution, an institution of the American Great West, passed away. Not alone was there regret and sadness among the old readers of "1808" but among all students of State history.

PERSONAL.

Emil Boehl: Born in Calvoerde Dukedom, Brunswick, October 27, 1839; died at St. Louis December 12, 1919. He came to St. Louis in 1854 and became interested in the general mercantile business. At the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Fourth Regiment of Home Guards and later served in the Enrolled Missouri Militia. In 1864 he established a photographic gallery in St. Louis and continued in the business until May, 1919. He was the owner of an especially fine collection of historical photographs, some of them dating as far back as 1840.

Hon. Arthur W. Brewster: Born in Kansas in 1865; died at Kansas City, October 5, 1919. He received his education at Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas, and then located in St. Joseph. There he practiced law for fourteen years, serving a term in the State Senate and holding the position of postmaster of St. Joseph during the administration of Roosevelt. Later he moved to Kansas City and there continued the practice of his profession.

Rev. E. H. Foster: Born in 1840; died at Jefferson City, Missouri, October 22, 1919. For many years he served as pastor of the Baptist Church at Salem, Missouri. He served as Chaplain of the Senate in the 49th General Assembly and as Representative from Dent county in the 50th.

Hon. William Ellsworth Fowler: Born at Beverly, Ohio, May 19, 1863; died at Kansas City, September 28, 1919. Upon the completion of his law education in Ohio and at Annapolis, Maryland, he came to Excelsior Springs, Missouri. In 1890 he was elected judge of the probate court of Clay county, which office he filled continuously until 1902. In 1913 he was Democratic presidential elector-at-large.

James Gurney: Born in England in 1842; died at St. Louis January 15, 1920. As a youth he became a member of the staff of the Royal Garden in London, and when he came to St. Louis he became chief gardener to Henry Shaw and developed the famous Tower Grove Park. He also laid out and planned the Missouri Botanical Garden, known as Shaw's Garden.

Estill Rhodes Myers: Born at Vandalia, Missouri, August 15, 1879; died at Kansas City, October 29, 1919. After the completion of his public school education he became connected with the Mexico *Intelligencer* and served it in various capacities until 1917. During his last three years on the paper he was editor and general manager. Later he was advertising manager of the Miami, Oklahoma, *Record-Herald* and at the time of his death was office manager of the Hays and Hayman Walker Company of Kansas City, publishers of the *Poland China Journal* and the *Hereford Journal.*

Everett W. Pattison: Born at Waterville, Maine, February 22, 1839; died at St. Louis November 14, 1919. He was graduated from Waterville (now Colby) College in 1858 and three years later enlisted as a private in the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry. He was discharged in 1865 as a captain. After the war he came to St. Louis and began the practice of law. For the past thirty years he had devoted much of his time to the writing of law books. In his later years he was best known through his Digest of Missouri Decisions, said to be the best work of its kind on Missouri law. He also wrote works on Missouri Code Pleadings and on Criminal Instructions. He contributed many articles to encyclopedias and law journals.

Wesley L. Robertson: Born at South Coventry, Connecticut, June 30, 1850; died at Gallatin, Missouri, December 23, 1919. He came with his mother to Missouri in 1865 and in 1872 purchased the Princeton *Advance*, which paper he conducted until 1881. Later he was for a short time publisher of the *Broad Axe* at Bethany, Missouri; the *New Century* at Unionville, Missouri; the *Democrat* at Gallatin, Missouri; the *Jeffersonian* at Plattsburg, Missouri; and the *Gazette* at West Plains, Missouri. In 1898 he again purchased the Gallatin

Democrat and remained publisher of this paper until his death. Mr. Robertson was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1900-01 and was the first president of the Northwest Missouri Press Association.

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Missouri historical review

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